NICOLAE CEAUȘESCU

The Effo[redacted]e

a Modern Romania

Edited and Introduced
by Stan Newens MP

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

Nicolae CEAUSESCU

Speeches and Writings

Selected and Introduced by Stan Newens M.P

SPOKESMAN

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Editor's Preface to the Second Edition

The original decision to publish a selection of the speeches and writings of Nicolae Ceausescu in 1972 arose out of a desire to contribute to the development of new attitudes on the left in Britain on vital international issues. In the exchanges which had taken place between different countries on East-West relations, on Sino-Soviet affairs, and the possibility of détente and above all on the key issues of the sovereignty of socialist countries, it had been made amply clear that there was an explicitly Romanian approach.

In these circumstances, it was felt that British observers with an interest in Eastern European affairs would welcome the opportunity of studying key statements made by the Romanian leader, which were otherwise not available except in a lengthy series of hefty volumes, accessible only to specialists.

It was certainly not intended, as was suggested by one reviewer, to idealise the views presented. In fact, it was pointed out that a number of them would not be accepted by British socialists, including the present writer, in the original introduction.

What, however, was apparent was that President Ceausescu's ideas were of particular interest insofar as they represented an intellectual basis for the adoption of policies which were independent of, and in a number of key areas were not approved by, the Soviet Government.

Since the original publication of the selection, the standpoint of the Italian Communists, referred to in the introduction, and the concept of what – rightly or wrongly – is termed Eurocommunism has become much more widely known. As a result, western socialists are at last beginning to grasp the idea that Communist Parties and even Communist Governments, by no means subservient to Moscow, are a real possibility.

In fact, the Romanian Government has for a number of years been such a government, despite its membership of the Warsaw Pact. The extracts included in this volume illustrate both the independent nature of the policies and the theoretical justification for them. In a sense therefore developments in Romania are every bit as important as an indication of changes in the European Communist scene as those which have attracted such intense interest in Italy, France and Spain.

This by no means implies that the policies adopted are necessarily similar. They are, however, formulated independently with the objective of meeting the specific needs of each country. The acceptance of the idea that Communist policy should not be promulgated from a single centre, which this demonstrates, is an extremely important change in Communist thinking, which has profound implications for the future. It is with this in mind that Mr Ceausescu's ideas should be studied.

Since the first edition appeared, there have been important developments in the world scene to which Romania has reacted. Additional extracts have therefore been included to illustrate this.

The contents of the previous volume have not, however, been curtailed as the original guidelines which these indicated have in no significant way been changed. The Romanian leader has continued to argue for peace, for détente, for international agreement on reducing tension and for an end to the arms race. He has tirelessly reiterated the case for cutting military expenditure, establishing nuclear free zones, preventing the spread of nuclear weapons, withdrawing troops stationed abroad and resolving international disputes by peaceful means. His view that the continued existence of rival military blocs is an anachronism has also been put forward on a number of occasions.

In the Middle East in particular, he has taken a particularly active interest. He was deeply involved in the steps leading up to the Sadat initiative but he has also stood out for recognition of the rights of the Palestinians. He has consistently maintained relations with Israel as well as the Arab countries.

Mr Ceausescu believes in the need for peaceful co-operation between countries in economics, science and technology. The existence of different social systems is not, in his eyes, a serious obstacle. Fundamental to his outlook is the view that no state has the automatic right to intervene in the internal affairs of another.

To promote the international objectives of his Government and to foster international goodwill and understanding, he has continued to meet foreign statesmen both in their own countries and in Romania at every possible opportunity. Since the first edition of this book came out, he has met, amongst others, political leaders in Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico, Guyana, Tanzania, Senegal, Angola, Gabon, Tunisia, Central Africa, Sierra Leone, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Vietnam, Japan, the Philippines, Greece, Portugal, Belgium, the Netherlands, San Marino, the United Kingdom and the USA, as well as the USSR. China, Yugoslavia, North Korea and Vietnam.

Such a list is quite amazing and includes, of course, some who would not be looked upon with favour on the left in this country. He is, however, anxious to demonstrate in practice his refusal to make judgements or appear to intervene in the internal affairs of any sovereign country. The only exception is with regard to countries which accept racialist policies in Southern Africa, on which Romania takes a firm stand.

This book is inevitably deeply concerned with Romania's foreign policy – with European security, détente, the Middle East, proposals for a New International Economic Order and many other international issues. A number of excerpts, however, are from statements which deal with vital domestic issues which have included the problems produced by floods and an earthquake in the last few years. Despite these, Romania has still managed to maintain a record of outstanding achievement in the economic sphere.

Those who criticise the regime ought to take the positive side of all that has been done into account. It is, of course, right that the international community should be concerned with restrictions on individual freedoms and liberty of religion in Romania as elsewhere. Some of the voices, which are raised,

would, however, deserve more serious attention if they were also raised on these issues in countries ruled by right wing military juntas, where there is infinitely more to complain about.

Anyone who fails to recognise, furthermore, the immense efforts made to bring about equality and harmony between the different nationalities domiciled in Romania can hardly claim to have approached the issue in an impartial frame of mind. In the United Kingdom, where we have lived through nine years of violence in Northern Ireland, we are in no position to criticise Romania for its very progressive policies towards national minorities.

In any case, on all these issues, the statements of President Ceausescu are worthy of the most careful examination. Particularly in view of his state visit to this country, this year, above all those who are on the left ought to learn more of his outlook and achievements.

Owing to the pressure at the time that the first edition was published, the sources of the extracts was not given. This has now been rectified and readers who desire more can consult the volumes from which they were taken. In all but the most recent excerpts, the references relate to the Collected Reports, Speeches and Articles of Nicolae Ceausescu published to date in 12 volumes by Meridane Publishing Housing, Bucharest 1969-1977.

Stan New
April 197

INTRODUCTION

The decision to produce this selection of the speeches and writings of Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has been taken against the background of recent developments in thinking on foreign affairs and international relations.

Over the course of the post war era, attitudes in this sphere have tended to become frozen and static. The alliance which was formed against the Nazi powers during the Second World War soon fell apart following the cessation of hostilities and new battle lines were established between those countries which retained social systems based upon free enterprise on one side and those which went over to communism on the other.

Thus the two groups of countries solidified into blocs – the first centred around the U.S.A. and the second around the U.S.S.R. Any question of independent initiatives on the part of individual members became practically unthinkable. As a result all hope of resolving outstanding differences and disputes for many years has been concentrated on summit meetings between the representatives of the major partners.

One of the basic assumptions on which this attitude has been based is the monolithic character of the blocs. Here in the West in particular, all Communist Governments and, for that matter, all Communist Parties in countries within the Western sphere of influence, have been regarded as essentially puppets, dutifully mouthing the pronouncements and carrying out the commands of a Moscow-based centre of power. The ruthless elimination of those who stepped out of line and the ostracising of Tito in 1948 have driven this conception home.

As a result, it has been widely accepted that the only means of preventing Western Europe from being overrun and incorporated into a Soviet Empire is by maintaining a collective defence based since 1948 upon the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the sister alliances.

This viewpoint, which has been firmly embraced even by the Social Democratic parties, has not been modified in its essentials for over a generation although the foreign policy of Willi Brandt, re-indorsed in the November 1972 F.D.R. Elections, showed evidence of a change of approach. Despite the Sino-Soviet split and a vague awareness of some differences of opinion, little detail is known of the development of independent lines of thought and action within Communist countries outside a circle of professional specialists.

Most of what is brought to light by the Press or by these experts is construed solely in relation to its effect on the balance of power between the blocs. Furthermore, the efforts of reactionaries in the West to applaud any show of independence as a step towards the rejection of the society that has been built up since the war, distort most of what is taking place and undoubtedly inhibit it.

It is with this in mind that it is worthwhile to study the position of Nicolae Ceausescu. Ceausescu is one of the most outspoken of the present generation of Communist leaders and on many vital issues has put forward a distinctive Romanian point of view. Up to the present, however, although his collected speeches and statements are available in English, they have not been assembled in a form which is likely to be studied carefully by anyone apart from specialists.

In compiling this volume, the main objective has been to reflect the viewpoint of Ceausescu on issues that are likely to be of interest and importance, without necessarily implying commitment. With some of these views, British socialists including the author of this introduction, would not be in agreement, but it is vital that the excerpts should be included to avoid distortion.

One thing which the selection does make clear is that there is an explicitly Romanian attitude as expressed by Nicolae

Ceausescu which is most certainly not a mere echo of Moscow – or, for that matter, of anywhere else. The Romanian leader is a tough and forthright Communist with an unshakeable faith in the cause to which he has devoted his life.

At the same time, he repeatedly stresses that each country has to find its own way to socialism and has a right to cultivate international relationships with governments and movements which have different aims and objectives and even exist within a different social system.

There is at this point in time a pressing need for British socialists to break away from the constraints of the cold war period and to examine seriously the possibilities of taking steps to wind up rival military alliances. This is vital not only in the interests of world peace and disarmament but for domestic economic reasons as well. We can no longer afford the foreign policy to which we have been committed for so long.

In the debate which must take place on these issues – on the formulation of a socialist foreign policy for Britain – the views of Nicolae Ceausescu are of great interest. It is therefore to be hoped that they will be studied with care and if this volume enables them to become better known and understood within the British Labour Movement it will have served its purpose.

Romania since the Second World War

Romania in the Second World War fought on the side of the Nazis until 23rd August, 1944. On that day, while Russian forces were locked in battle with the Nazis on the Northern borders, anti-Fascists launched an uprising in Bucharest and disarmed German occupation troops. The pro-Fascist government of Marshall Ion Antonescu was arrested, and the country changed sides to join the anti-Fascist coalition. Three shortlived coalition governments which aimed to prevent radical social change followed, but on 6th March, 1945, a government in which the left wing parties had a majority took power under Dr. Petru Groza.

A period of accelerating social change followed, and in November 1947 the last non-Communist ministers resigned from the Government. By an Act of 11th June, 1948, the banks, mines,

insurance transport and tele-communication services, along with all major industrial enterprises, were nationalised. A planned economy was created and the first five-year plan was launched for the period 1951/55.

During this period Romania, like most of the other countries in Eastern Europe, followed the line laid down by the U.S.S.R. very closely indeed and, along with other East European countries she joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, COMECON, at its formation in 1949. In 1962 this organisation became deeply concerned to accelerate the process of economic integration between its various members.

From the outset, Romania, as one of the less industrialised countries, dragged her feet and argued that every country had the right to increase its own industrial potential, when it was suggested that she should leave certain heavy industrial development to other Communist countries which could undertake it more efficiently.

Accordingly, when Khruschev in November 1962 declared in his report to the Central Committee of the CPSU that universal industry was permissible only to the great powers which could afford it thanks to specialisation and co-ordination and to the existence of a large domestic market, his view was not accepted in Romania. When the Executive Committee of COMECON in February 1963 specifically requested the Romanian authorities to modify their plans so as to avoid duplicating industries which were already well established in Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. it met with a flat refusal.

Inevitably, disagreement with Moscow on a fundamental issue of this magnitude could only be justified if it was argued that the Romanian Communist leadership had the right to put national consideration first. Significantly, in June 1963 the Romanians, alongside the Russian Document on the Sino-Soviet dispute, published the Twenty-Five Point Declaration issued by the Chinese on its differences with the U.S.S.R., which specifically attacked the justification of policies in the name of the international division of labour as "Great Power Chauvinism".

Furthermore, Romania determined to make direct trading

agreements with capitalist countries and to enter into an agreement with Yugoslavia for the joint construction of the Danube hydro-electric power station.

This show of independence inevitably had repercussions over a very wide field. Romania adopted a neutralist position between Peking and Moscow and ceased to echo every word of Russian policy on other issues.

The Romanian leadership whilst criticising the bitterness of the language used by the leaders of the Soviet and Chinese parties, spoke out strongly for the full and unfettered sovereignty of each socialist country, and in March 1964 the Romanian Prime Minister, Ion Gheorghe Maurer headed a Romanian delegation which visited both Peking and Moscow.

Then on 26th April, 1964, the Romanian Communist Party published a declaration stating that the sovereignty of each socialist state required that it should hold in its own hands all the levers and controls over national economic life. It withdrew its support for the exclusion of the Yugoslav League of Communists from the Cominform and propounded the principle of non-interference in other parties' domestic affairs.

The position adopted was very much in accord with the concept of polycentrism which was formulated in the Memorandum left behind by the Italian Communist Party leader Palmiro Togliatti, who died in the same year, and supported by his successor, Luigi Longo, in an article contributed to *World Marxist Review.* *

Romania extended the notion into the sphere of foreign affairs as a whole. In the United Nations her delegate took an independent position, sometimes even voting against the U.S.S.R. and her usual allies. Furthermore, she established direct relations with West European countries and in October 1964 Gheorghe Maurer visited France for talks with General de Gaulle, who was developing a comparable independence with the Western Alliance system. Relations with Tito became more cordial than ever.

* "The Italian Communist Party and the Problems of the International Communist Movement" Luigi Longo in *World Marxist Review,* Vol. 7, No. 11, November 1964.

When, in August 1964, *Pravda* announced that an invitation was being made to 26 Communist Parties to attend a conference in Moscow to consider the issues facing the world Communist movement and to consolidate their unity, Romania did not respond favourably and eventually refused to attend in December 1964, though by this time Khruschev had fallen from power.

Shortly afterwards the veteran Romanian Communist leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, died and the Ninth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party elected Nicolae Ceausescu as his successor.

Ceausescu: The Man

Nicolae Ceausescu was born on 26th January, 1918, at Scornicesti, a small town in the province of Olt, son of a poor peasant, Andrutza Ceausescu. At eleven years of age he left school and went to Bucharest, where he was apprenticed to a shoemaker but later moved from job to job.

At an early stage he began to attend trade union meetings and joined the Communist Youth movement in 1933 at the age of fifteen. Later that year he was arrested for distributing seditious literature.

In 1933 widespread strikes broke out among railwaymen and oil workers and the leaders were arrested and put on trial. Ceausescu was arrested for taking part in the organisation of a petition on behalf of those on trial at Craiova and subsequently he lived a semi-illegal existence.

Again arrested in August and September 1934 for distributing seditious leaflets and for participating in an illegal assembly, he was ordered to return home from Bucharest to be placed under his parents' supervision in his own town. When he failed to observe this requirement and was subsequently arrested anew, he received a sentence of two years' imprisonment and was fined 2000 lei. This was increased by six months for a demonstration in court and was to be followed by a year of enforced residence at the parental home.

In prison at Braşov and Doftana, he furthered his education in Marxism, assisted by other political prisoners. Upon his release on

8th December, 1938, he immediately rejoined the Romanian Communist Youth movement and was shortly after elected on to its Central Committee.

After further activity, he was again arrested on 1st August 1940 and incarcerated at Jilava, Caransebeş, and finally at Tîrgu Jiu, an internment camp for political prisoners. Here he came into contact with Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej and Gheorghe Maurer, both of whom were to become leading figures within a few years.

From this camp, prisoners were allowed out in working parties and this facilitated the establishment of contacts with the anti-Fascist movement in the country. Romania was at war as an ally of Nazi Germany, but things were going badly by 1944 and the Government of Marshall Ion Antonescu was becoming ever more unpopular.

In these circumstances the Communist Party joined forces with the Social Democrats and subsequently with the Peasant and Liberal Parties to form a National Democratic Bloc which established contact with sympathetic military officers and made plans for an uprising.

When the Antonescu Government was arrested and overthrown, Ceausescu became the General Secretary of the Communist Youth Movement with an office in one of the most fashionable quarters of Bucharest, and on 5th September, 1944, he inaugurated the Young Workers' Front.

He participated fully in the events which led up to the establishment of a completely Communist Government in 1947 and became a member of the Central Committee of the Party in October 1945, being assigned to reconstruction work in Constantsa and then Oltenia Provinces. In 1946 he was elected as a deputy to the Assembly and in 1948, following the merger between the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party, a substitute member of the Central Committee of the new Romanian Workers' Party.

In 1948 he also became Deputy Minister of Agriculture and as such was deeply involved in the collectivisation of agriculture. In 1950, he became Deputy Minister of the Armed Forces and Chief of the Supreme Political Staff of the Army with the rank of

Lieutenant-General, a post which he held until 1954.

In 1952, Ceausescu had become a full member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Workers Party. In 1954 he became Secretary of the Central Committee and headed an official delegation to the U.S.S.R. At the Third Congress of the Party in 1955 he was elected a member of the Politbureau.

In the years that followed, as one of the key figures in the Romanian leadership, Ceausescu attended the 1957 Moscow Conference of Communist Parties and participated in delegations to the G.D.R., the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Tenth Congress of the Italian Communist Party, and had contacts with the Yugoslav League of Communists.

In March 1965, following the death of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, Nicolae Ceausescu was elected First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and at the ensuing Ninth Congress, at which he presented the main report, he became a member of the Praesidium and General Secretary of the Party.

Henceforward, as the man at the helm, Nicolae Ceausescu has been the main spokesman for his country and his statements assume an international as well as a national importance.

In personal terms, he is married with two sons and a daughter. His wife, Elena, is a leading Communist in her own right who was elected a full member of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party in July 1972 and is also Director General of the Institute for Chemical Research. Their eldest son, Valentin, is now an atomic physicist. Their daughter, Elena-Zoia is a mathematician and Nicu is a physicist and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth.

Ceausescu: The Policies

Although Ceausescu has denied that there is any such thing as an explicitly Romanian road to socialism, he has affirmed and reaffirmed time and time again that since objective conditions vary from country to country the workers' party in each case must determine its own strategy and tactics in complete freedom from the instructions of any international centre. He has, on this basis, in effect made himself an advocate of the concept of

polycentrism within the Communist countries and has firmly stood out against the idea of creating a new centralised Communist international organisation on the model of the Comintern of the 1920s, which was being discussed in the early 1960s.

As a stout defender of the autonomy of national parties he has simultaneously resisted the condemnation of the Chinese Party and moved closer to Yugoslavia and to Tito, whom the Chinese have regarded as an arch-revisionist. Ceausescu's position has been one of the unmitigated opposition to any policy of accusing and denouncing sister Communist parties and he has reaffirmed the Romanian renunciation of the support it gave to the condemnation of Tito in 1948, citing this as an example of totally incorrect policy.

This championship of the national sovereignty of each party has led him to deny in the most categorical terms the right of any power to intervene in the affairs of another country, even if both are Communist. He has sternly condemned communications between the Communist Party in one country and individuals who may be in opposition in another on the basis that no Party or international organisation has the right to seek to undermine the national standing or policies approved by the majority of a sister Party.

Ceausescu's position on the intervention of five of the Warsaw Pact countries into Czechoslovakia in 1968 was therefore critical in the extreme from the outset. Before the intervention took place he stated his disapproval in the clearest terms. He visited Czechoslovakia in the middle of August 1968 and publicly pledged his support for Alexander Dubcek and the right of the Czech Party to determine its own affairs. He expressed his confidence in the policies of the Czech leadership and voiced the view that they had the support of the Czech people as a whole. When the intervention took place he reiterated his stand and described it as a great mistake and a grave danger to peace.

He pointed out at a popular rally in Bucharest at the time that it was possible that some might say in the future that there was a danger of counter-revolution in Romania just as they were saying in the case of Czechoslovakia. However, in no circumstances

would the Romanian people permit anyone to violate their national territory and he called for the formation of armed detachments of the people to be ready to defend socialist Romania. His utter rejection of the "Brezhnev doctrine" of the Socialist Commonwealth, which proclaims the right of socialist countries to intervene in their neighbours' affairs if they consider that socialism is in danger, could not be made plainer.

His opposition is not, however, limited to defence of Romania's national interests. Ceausescu is against interference in the affairs of other countries on principle, above all when this is done at the behest of a great power. Romania's position on American intervention in Vietnam and the Third World in general is not merely a question of supporting a national liberation movement — vital as this is. He views it in addition, as armed interference with the rights of a small country by a great power, and on this aspect of the problem is just as firmly opposed as he is to imperialism.

He argues against the notion that international decisions should be left to the Great Powers. He sees an important role for the small countries in arriving at the solution of international issues and has therefore made very considerable efforts to establish direct Romanian links abroad. His endeavours have not been limited to countries with similar social systems or even countries of the Third World although he has visited many of these and entertained their leaders on visits to Romania.

Ceausescu's view is that the doctrine of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems means that relations should be cultivated even with governments whose policies are on important matters at variance with those pursued by Romania. Therefore, delegations, foreign visits, and international contacts have been organised not only with General de Gaulle and President Pompidou of France, who were known to have an independent position in some respects, but even with the Shah of Persia, the President of Turkey, and President Nixon of the United States.

As an advocate of his country's national sovereignty and independence, Ceausescu has been prepared to formulate an ex-

plicitly Romanian approach and to take independent initiatives both within the Soviet camp and in the world at large. His attempts to maintain good relations, both with Moscow and Peking throughout the period of the Sino-Soviet split, and Romanian behaviour in the United Nations organisation and in every other sphere, have been characterised by a certain sturdy independence.

This does not mean that he has adopted a specifically Romanian position for the sake of so doing. The denunciation of American involvement in Vietnam, demands for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Arab territories occupied during the Six Days War, support for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, opposition to imperialism and neo-colonialism, have been very much in accord with the standpoint of other Communist countries. The same thing might be said about the attitude adopted on many other aspects of international affairs.

Nonetheless, Romania's position is more than a mere reiteration of decisions arrived at elsewhere. Thus, while Ceausescu has been intensely active on the issue of working for a detente in Europe, in line with the "Statement on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe" adopted by the Summit of the Consulative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Members which took place in Bucharest in July 1966, he has in the course of the campaign emphasised issues about which he is particularly concerned in the long run as well as more immediate objectives.

Not only has he demanded the full diplomatic recognition of both German states and post-war frontiers and the creation of a European security system, but has repeatedly referred to the need, as he sees it, to work for NATO and the Warsaw Pact to be simultaneously wound up and all foreign troops to be withdrawn to their own countries.

He argues this case on the basis that the Warsaw Pact was formed only after NATO, that it was intended to be purely defensive, and that in the event of an attack by capitalist forces Romania would automatically fight on the socialist side. This in no way, however, detracts from the strength of his demand that

both the pacts should be dissolved and the division of Europe and the world into armed camps broken down.

On disarmament, he is also quite outspoken, particularly on the issue of nuclear weapons. He was strongly in favour of the non-proliferation treaty, but stated that this was only one step forward. In his view, the ultimate aim is to ban the use of nuclear weapons, cease their production and liquidate existing stockpiles throughout the world. As a further step forward towards this goal, he is for the creation of nuclear-free zones and has raised the possibility of securing agreement on a nuclear-free zone with Romania's neighbours in the Balkans. He has not limited his approaches on this score to Communist countries but has also had talks and exchanged views with Turkey and, at an earlier stage, Greece.

His efforts to foster good relations with countries which have different social systems are not limited to exchanges on world problems. He also believes in developing trade. He has long recognised that direct trade with the West has many advantages and has attempted to break down obstacles and make the Romanian system more flexible. In 1967 he therefore came out in favour of enabling Romanian enterprises to develop direct links with their foreign customers and suppliers instead of channelling these through the central state trading machinery. He has been one of those East European statesmen who have approved the formulation of joint enterprises with capitalist firms based in western countries.

Not surprisingly he views with concern the creation of all barriers to the growth of international trade. It is in this light that he has considered the European Common Market and has expressed concern at what he regards as the formation of a closed economic system which could hamper trade.

In his attitude to COMECON, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, to which all the European Communist countries except Yugoslavia belong, he also has reservations about possible future developments. Whilst he has expressed his approbation for the principle of increasing co-operation with all other members, he has strongly resisted all proposals for integrating the national

plans and moving towards an international division of labour between the members to a point at which the independent development of the country appears to be affected. Insofar as this would mean limiting Romanian development in some sectors, Ceausescu is just not prepared to concur.

Romania still has many of the features of a developing country and he is only too well aware of the weaknesses of the economy and the unfavourable comparisons with productivity levels achieved abroad. On more than one occasion, he has berated slackness and every other fault which in any way limits the achievements of Romanian industry.

At the same time, he is absolutely determined to push ahead with economic development as fast as possible and he has been wholeheartedly for concentrating on investment in industry and particularly heavy industry. Any proposals therefore which suggest that Romanian investments should be diverted on the grounds that they are likely to duplicate capacity which already exists in the G.D.R. or Czechoslovakia are quite unacceptable to him.

Ceausescu's objective is for the development of agriculture and industry alike to provide the country with an independent economic base as far as this is possible in the modern world. He would certainly not accept the idea that Romania should concentrate on the supply of raw materials, food, and primary products in general, leaving other states to take pride of place in the field of manufactures.

His attitude on all these matters is based on a deeply-rooted patriotism which he never loses the opportunity of stressing. This is related to his concept of the role of the nation under socialism on which he has spoken and written at some length. The argument advanced is that the process of building a socialist society goes hand in hand with the development of the consciousness of the unity of the national community. It is this very community in which social ownership is vested, following the nationalisation of national resources and the means of production, which is one of the major achievements of the socialist revolution. Consequently he rejects the view that the historic mission of this community — of the nation — is completed once socialism has been established.

On the contrary, he argues that it has a long lease of life ahead.

He considers that upon the achievement of socialism the working class identifies itself with the nation as a whole and the concept of a socialist nation emerges. The revitalised nation develops its own socialist culture and ethics and, undivided by class, is more united and homogeneous than the nation under capitalism.

For Ceausescu, the Romanian people includes along with the Romanians, all the national minorities – Magyars, Germans, Serbs and others, who live within the Romanian homeland and he emphasises the importance of complete equality of rights for all. He recalls the fact that national minorities have in the past suffered persecution and have been used by exploiting classes to break up the unity of the working people. He sets his face firmly against any handicaps or restrictions on members of the minority nationalities and has repudiated measures taken to penalise the German population following the Second World War, when its members were deprived of their lands. Such mistakes have since been rectified.

He is not prepared to condone any action designed to undermine the unity of all citizens regardless of nationality. This means that as well as accepting the full responsibilities and enjoying the full rights of other Romanian citizens, they must be provided with schools, newspapers, books, etc., in which their own languages are used and their own cultures preserved and developed.

Ceausescu regards the consciousness of Romania's past as a vital constituent part of Romanian national consciousness in the socialist era. Even feudal princes, despite their class positions, are seen as having made a positive contribution to the formation of the nation. Not surprisingly, he takes great pride in the historic struggles of the revolutionary peasants, workers and intellectuals in more recent times and refers repeatedly to the great struggle against Fascism in which the Romanian Communist Party played a leading role. He does not, however, disregard other patriotic Romanians even in the more recent past. Despite the fact that he regards the First World War as an imperialist war, he is nonetheless prepared to pay tribute to those who fought to defend the

Romanian homeland in the great battles of Marasti, Maresesti and Oituz against the German and Austro-Hungarian armies in 1917.

This pride and concern with Romania's past in no way, however, detracts from his adherence to Marxist-Leninist concepts or internationalist ideals. The argument is that no-one can be a genuine internationalist who is not devoted to his own nation and who is not prepared to fight for its liberation. He advances the view that the true patriot and internationalist in today's conditions will work for the success and defence of Communism and it is by the triumph of the new social order that all nations will eventually draw together and become conscious of their united interests. Socialist patriotism and internationalism are not merely compatible but complementary in his eyes.

He therefore appeals to the present generation of writers, artists, scientists, musicians, teachers, as well as workers and peasants, to dedicate themselves to the cause of socialism and their homeland. In some respects, western readers will raise their eyebrows at the extent to which he regards it as the duty of all concerned with the dissemination of knowledge and with culture to assist in the creation of the consciousness of socialist Romania. Some will see shades of Zhdanov and Stalin in the lack of concern with those who fail to get their works published in these conditions, but there is a vital difference.

Ceausescu has firmly rejected the persecution and false denunciations of those who fall out of favour with the leaders at any particular moment. Initially, this position was adopted with regard to those whom the international Communist movement attempted to condemn. Ceausescu has made it clear that he is not prepared to repeat what he regards as the mistaken condemnation of Tito in 1948.

The same attitude has, however, been adopted in the case of those denounced and persecuted in Romania itself. An investigation was made of the cases of a considerable number of Communists. Outstanding among these was Lucretiu Patrascanu, Minister of Justice in the 1945 Groza administration and a leading Communist for many years, who was declared to have been a traitor and executed on 16th April, 1954. Patrascanu was imprisoned at

Tîrgu Jiu, like Ceausescu, during the war and, like him, participated in the 1944 uprising. In April, 1948, he was suddenly thrown into prison accused of high treason, spying for the Americans, acting as a British agent, and instigating a plot against the state. Six years later he was abruptly tried and executed.

The findings of the Committee of Enquiry were that breaches of legality had been committed, that trials were rigged, and that many who were entirely innocent of the crimes of which they were accused suffered persecution, imprisonment and, in some cases, death. Ceausescu has rehabilitated Patrascanu and other victims – in some cases posthumously, of course – and has condemned those responsible. In particular he has denounced the responsibility of his predecessor, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, though the latter is still recognised for the vital role which he played in the struggle to achieve a Communist society in other respects.

Among those rehabilitated were Stefan Foris, General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party in 1940, who was condemned and executed during the postwar period, and nineteen Romanian Communists deemed to have been unjustly put to death in the U.S.S.R. One of those regarded as directly implicated, Alexandru Draghici, at that time still Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and a member of the Central Committee, was stripped of his offices and disgraced.

As the result of the unconditional acceptance of the abuses of the legal system, Ceausescu has declared that steps must be taken to ensure that such injustices can never occur in the future. The importance of democracy is therefore being increasingly stressed and whilst the standards set for loyalty to the Romanina State are high there is no question of rigging trials as occurred in the past. Democracy in Romania must be based on complete acceptance of what is legal. Interference by anyone, no matter how important, is unacceptable in Ceausescu's view.

The concern with democracy has begun to spread into the sphere of industry. One-man management has been under attack and since the Tenth Communist Party Congress of 1969 some tentative, hesitant, but nonetheless, positive steps have been taken

towards the democratisation of industry. It would be reasonable to expect that as and when it is considered that it is feasible on the basis of Romanian conditions, further steps will be undertaken.

Ceausescu does not move until the ground for advance has been carefully prepared and his attempts to advance are always tempered by caution. This no doubt helps to explain his success in making himself a genuinely national Romanian leader as well as establishing himself as a powerful independent voice within the world Communist movement.

He is a Communist who believes that socialism will spread over the whole world in due course, but he is a Romanian vitally concerned with the problems of his own country at the same time. Consequently, any attempt to portray him as a man manipulated by Moscow is utterly ludicrous. No one, either at home or abroad, supporter or opponent, could possibly believe such a story.

Ceausescu has put forward a new conception of the role of a Communist country in international affairs. The crux of his argument is not that Moscow is wrong on a specific issue and that the world Communist movement must be won over to a new position. He takes his stand on the notion of the right of independent working class parties to dissent and to determine the policies appropriate for their countries themselves. This recognition of the sovereignty of each national Party and each state represents a powerful challenge to the concept of a monolithic Communist bloc which has been widely accepted as the pattern of world Communism over many years. In his speech at the 45th Anniversary of the foundation of the Romanian Communist Party on 7th May, 1966, he recalled the fact that the Comintern appointed two General Secretaries of the Party who were not Romanians at all in pre-war years and spoke of the harm done by interference of this variety from abroad.

Romania under Ceausescu is the model of a Communist country which is both socialist and fully independent. As such it has an importance which extends outside the Communist countries. Ceausescu has demonstrated that it is possible to

pursue an independent foreign policy in a world which was dominated for a generation by the two camps. He has also laid claim to the right of small countries to play their part in international affairs other than as quiescent members of the blocs.

If Ceausescu is able in the future to sustain the position which he has adopted, more and more governments may well decide to follow a similar path. The argument for dismantling NATO and the Warsaw Pact will then inevitably increase in strength and find more and more adherents. If the pacts are not monolithic, if Communist rulers cannot be written off as Russian puppets, the reasons for being members of another bloc begin to disappear.

A future British Labour Goverment, beset by difficult economic problems, will have to face the question of attempting to justify the foreign policy which Labour has been prepared to accept of practically uncritical support of the United States since the beginning of the Cold War. The position which Ceausescu has formulated will undoubtedly weaken the division which has bedevilled East and West for the whole of that period and if others adopt a similar stand international relations will be at the point of a radical change. The way could be opened up towards a rapproachement between the countries of East and West which would provide a new basis for peace and security.

It is therefore appropriate that Ceausescu's ideas should be more widely known among the English-speaking public. It may be that at numerous points British socialists will dissent from the position taken up by Romania and there could be more in the future. This in no way, however, undermines the arguments advanced in this introduction or the need for producing the selection to which it is attached.

It is to be hoped that the extracts gathered together will form the basis for understanding the salient features of the policies of Nicolae Ceausescu. The Collected Reports, Speeches and Articles in 12 volumes (Meridiane Publishing House, Bucharest, 1969-72) provide the principal source, though several articles and speeches have been published separately and fuller documentation can be obtained from these volumes if desired.

All who are genuinely concerned about international affairs

and about developments in the Communist countries will find much to interest them. The case for studying the ideas and policies of the Romanian leader does not, however, rest at this point. The future of the human race at the present stage of world history is beset by many difficulties and problems, the answers to which are yet to be discovered. It is surely beyond dispute that the smaller countries of the world have something of value to say. They certainly have a right to be heard.

The attitude of the Romanian Government towards the many problems of internal development and foreign relations are reflected in the speeches and writings of Nicolae Ceausescu. They are therefore worthy of the attention of everyone who is concerned with the problems of peace, disarmament and the task of seeking to provide a basis for better living standards throughout the world.

General Approach to Some Basic Problems

1

1 – THE PHILOSOPHY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

Our Marxist-Leninist ideology, dialectical and historical-materialism – our Party's concept of the world and life – provide scuh a philosophical and historical horizon that one needs only to understand it well and use it correctly in order to produce works up to the standard of thought of our working class, up to the policy of our Party. That is what we demand from our creative workers.

The supreme goal of our policy is Man, the creation of conditions for the worker, peasant and intellectual being able to enjoy all the blessings of civilization. It is for Man that we create the material basis, that we develop the productive forces, improve the relations of production, seek to place social relations on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, seek to remove everything that spoils or casts shadow on the ideal of social equity, of equal rights.

We are building the socialist society where Man should be the central figure, where everything should be devoted to Man. We maintain that the creators of spiritual values too should, by following the guiding principle of the Party policy, dedicate everything they create to Man, to his happiness. In this way they will contribute to an ever faster improvement of our society, to the completion of socialism, to the creation of conditions for the building of communism in Romania.

The working-class concept has imposed itself because it is the only scientific concept of the world which ensures the social progress of mankind. And if the theories set forth by Marx and

Engels defeated their enemies under the conditions of capitalism, is it possible that with the working class in power one could speak about the possibility of their being pushed away by the theories which they had defeated under the above-mentioned conditions? No, comrades, there is no such possibility.

To pose the problem whether such a danger exists signifies failure to understand the value and invincible force of Marxism-Leninism, signifies underrating it and implanting lack of confidence in the invincibility of Marxism-Leninism. We reject such theories which are alien to the working class.

Certainly, comrades, Marxism-Leninism is neither a dogma nor a religion where one should seek quotations from this or that saint. Marxism-Leninism is a concept of study, of investigation, of interpretation of human society, of understanding of the phenomena of life, a revolutionary concept helping the transformation of society, the making of mankind's history, a concept of fight for progress.

In the approach of the problems of contemporary development, one should proceed from this scientific concept and method. It is on its basis that one must analyse the phenomena and reach practical conclusions for the revolutionary activity, for the building of the socialist society. It is only in this way that the communists fulfil their role of organizers, of advanced force of society. You certainly have read, comrades, how Marx, Engels and Lenin laughed at those who thought that their revolutionary theory would serve them on the plate answers to all problems. They drew the attention, on numberless occasions, to the fact that those who are thinking in this way draw back Marxism-Leninism, that Marxist-Leninist are those people who know how to keep in step with time, with the revolutionary changes of society, who think for themselves and know — by applying the general truths of Marxism-Leninism to concrete conditions — how to lead the revolutionary transformations of society.

Alien to any tendency of dogmatism and isolation, Lenin considered Marxism not as "something consummate and intangible" but as a theory which "socialists must further develop in all directions, if they do not want to lag behind life". A profoundly creative approach to the Marxist theory, to the problems of the revolutionary fight, and of the socialist transformation of society characterized the entire work and activity of Lenin. Well known in this connection is the intransigent attitude of the great leader of the proletariat towards the tendencies which, in the name of "loyalty" to the letter of Marxism, tried to debase this vivid thinking to a collection of inert theses and axioms, to deprive the revolutionary theory of the proletariat of its vital force, namely of its capability to unravel the meaning of events, to find adequate solutions for the ardent problems of the working class' fight for progress, for socialism. As Lenin stressed it "...we have to get to understand the unquestionable truth that a Marxist must take into account real life, the precise facts of *reality*, and not to keep clinging to the theory of yesterday which, at the best, the same as any theory, indicates merely what is fundamental, general, *approximates* merely understanding of life's complexity."[1]

In elaborating his theory of the socialist revolution and the building of the new social system, Lenin proceeded from the scientific analysis of realities in Russia at that time. He dedicated a long period of his life to studying these realities many of his works focusing on the analysis of the stage of development reached by capitalism in Russia, the nature of the changing relations of production and the appreciation of the balance of class forces engaged in the social life and struggle.

It is in the same spirit that Lenin examined also the questions of the international situation, of the development of the advanced

[1] *V. I. Lenin*, Complete Works, Vol. XXXI, Bucharest, Publishing House for Political Literature, Romanian edition, p. 136

capitalist countries, of the international balance of forces and elaborated his theory on imperialism. The thesis concerning the possibility of the socialist revolution and of the socialist construction in a single country was precisely the result of this complex analysis of the national and international realities of the respective era. This thesis, which was a great discovery in the domain of social sciences, opened up new prospects to the proletariat in Russia and the world over, armed and encouraged it in the revolutionary fight.

Lenin's entire work and activity brilliantly demonstrate that careful study of reality, of the respective development stage of society, of the concrete conditions in which the Party of the working class is acting, a creative approach to the problems of economic, social and political life, shaping independently the political line by applying the general truths to the specific situation have a decisive rôle in ensuring the success of the socialist revolution and construction. It is in this full adherence to reality, to the historic fact, in the permanent adaptation of Marx's theory to the continuously changing social conditions that the exceptional value of Leninism, its tremendous vitality reside. This essential feature of Lenin's work must all the more be stressed today when, following the far-reaching changes come about in the last decades, the economic, social and political look of the world has radically changed.

2 – POLICY ON NATIONAL MINORITIES

The administrative-territorial division of the country reflects the care of our Party and State for the ***consistent implementation of the national policy, for the actual ensuring of full equality of rights***

*See also Appendix 2

of all citizens, irrespective of nationality. In the course of centuries, in some regions of our country, living alongside of the Romanians have been Magyars, Germans, Serbians and other nationalities. They fought shoulder to shoulder against the common oppressors and exploiters, for the attainment of their aspirations for freedom, a better life and social progress. The material and spiritual values accumulated in the course of years in these places, the great achievements recorded in the years of socialism attest to the talent, skill and creative energies of all working people irrespective of nationality, — the genuine makers of the history of our country. It stands to the credit of the socialist system, of the Party and State, to have achieved the brotherhood of the Romanian people and of the coinhabiting nationalities, to have ensured the abolition of any form of national discrimination, to have ensured the full equality of rights of all the citizens of the country. Our socialist society, in which the exploiting classes have been liquidated for good, is characterized by the community of fundamental interests and the close cohesion of the working people in the activities for the flourishing of the common homeland — the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The Marxist-Leninist national policy implemented by the Romanian Communist Party, the full equality of rights of all citizens is reflected in the participation of the representatives of the working people of all nationalities in the central and local organs of State power, where the problems regarding the present and the future of the country are discussed and decided, in their participation in the entire political, economic and social activity of our Homeland. In the Grand National Assembly, 86.1 per cent of the deputies are Romanians, 8.6 per cent are Magyars, 2.1 per cent are Germans, and 3.2 per cent are people of other nationalities, in accordance with the national structure of the country's population. Among the over 155,000 deputies to the local organs of power more than 11,800 are Magyars, almost 2,800 are Germans, and over 2,400 are people of other nationalities. The use

of the mother tongue in the educational units is ensured by more than 1,700 schools and sections and upwards of 220 lycées and sections in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities, with an attendance of 240,000; learning of the mother tongue as a subject is ensured to a number of 60,000 pupils belonging to the coinhabiting nationalities, who are attending schools with tuition in Romanian. There is also tuition in Hungarian at the Babes-Bolyai University, the Institute of Fine Arts and the Conservatory of Cluj, the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy, the Teacher Training College and the Theatrical Art Institute of Tîrgu Mureș. Numerous text-books and other books in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities are being printed annually in a circulation of approximately 3.5 million copies in our country. The 28 publications in Hungarian, 6 in German, 2 in Serbian, as well as the publications in the languages of other coinhabiting nationalities total 600,000 copies. An important contribution to the progress of the cultural life of the country is made by the theatres, ensembles and other artistic units in the languages of the coinhabiting nationalities in Cluj, Timișoara, Tîrgu Mureș, Oradea, Sibiu, Bucharest, Satu Mare, Sfîntu Gheorghe and other localities. All these forms of activity, supported and encouraged by our State, enable the citizens from the ranks of the coinhabiting nationalities to enjoy the advantages of socialist democracy, the rights which are guaranteed to all the citizens of our Homeland under the Constitution.

The new administrative-territorial organization of the country ensures even better conditions for the accomplishment of the equality of rights of all citizens, for the application in the localities where the coinhabiting nationalities are residing of the constitutional provisions concerning the use of the mother tongue in State administration, schools, and cultural institutions. In step with the growth of the economic potential of the entire country and the improvement of the territorial distribution of the productive forces, the equality of rights of all citizens, regardless of natio-

nality is acquiring a more and more durable foundation, the possibilities for the advance of the living standards of the entire population are increasing.

3 – SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

If the capitalist system undoubtedly marked a progress as against the old, feudal system in the field of democratic liberties and civic rights too, it is even more evident that the socialist system is called upon to create a society in which the democratic liberties should be incomparably superior to those of the capitalist system. This presupposes a process which obviously obliges the communist parties to resolutely advance along this road.

The essence of socialist democracy resides in the fact that the people, having become the master of political power and of the means of production, must directly participate in the entire activity of leading the economic and social life. In this sense we aim to secure the organizational framework and the favourable climate in which the working people can openly have their say on all problems, can criticize, without any hindrance or repression, any shortcoming and fully assert their intitiative, make proposals concerning the improvement of the entire activity of socialist construction. By presenting for consultation and public discussion the most important problems of its home and foreign policy, our Party has the guarantee that the measures it adopts fully correspond to the vital hopes of the entire people.

The fact that the working people are criticizing certain negative phenomena or mistakes committed in various sectors of society does not mean that they have doubts as to the socialist social system, but is an expression of the desire of the working masses that such phenomena should be eliminated and this is

in keeping with the concerns of the Party for perfecting its forms and methods of conducting society.

4 – INDIVIDUAL AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The problems of individual and religious freedoms have preoccupied and continues to preoccupy humanity. I think that socialism solves these problems better than capitalism. It solves them better because it wipes out the chief inequality among men — economic inequality — the fact that some are rich while others poor, some are the lords while the others servants. By solving this fundamental problem socialism solves the essential issue of individual freedom, ensures the right of each and everyone to a life in keeping with his or her aptitudes and capabilities. Certainly, I do not want to state that this problem was solved in Romania right from the beginning. This is a long process, related to the development of the productive forces, of the material groundwork of society — the only one ensuring conditions for men to benefit to the full by the blessings of civilization. Of course, in an economically advanced country things can be solved in a different manner than in Romania.

But freedom cannot be judged only by the material living conditions society affords. People also want to enjoy freedom of thought, of expressing their views, of freely creating and manifesting themselves in all spheres of social life, of participating in social government.

We, in Romania have covered a great distance along this road both as concerns the raising of the living standard and cultural level of the population and the ensuring of the possibilities for each citizen to state his views on any problem preoccupying society, to participate in social government. We are certain that from some points of view we are ahead of many advanced western countries.

As to religious freedom, we suggest you to go anywhere you like in our country and you will see it for yourself. There are good relations between the State and the cults. Of course, our society acts so as to educate people in the spirit of the advanced, dialectical-materialist outlook about the world and society, but we are aware of the fact that this presupposes a long process and can at any rate be achieved only on the basis of conviction. Therefore, conditions are ensured in our country for each citizen to freely manifest his religious belief.

5 — STEPS TOWARDS DEMOCRATISING INDUSTRY

We have proceeded to the organization and improvement of collective leadership; we have set up management boards in enterprises and council boards in the centrals and combines, which have the task of running the entire activity of the respective units. We have drawn into the managerial bodies of enterprises, which include executives and the finest experts, also exponents of trade unions and representatives of the employees designated at the general meetings of the working people. We have introduced the principle of collective work also in the leadership of ministries, to the effect that a deliberative character has been assigned to their leading bodies, they take decisions on the main problems of economic development.

Within the enterprises, we have assigned an important rôle to the employees' general meetings — which have to analyse the economic activity of the respective units, to exercise mass control over the work going on in the enterprise for the development of production and, at the same time, to mobilize the efforts of the entire collective for perfecting economic activity.

Of course, we are only at the beginning, but experience will

help us to steadily improve activity in this respect. I want to add that, in this field, we studied beforehand the experience of other socialist countries and we continue to study it, we take into account everything that appears to be good in one country or another. We thus strive to constantly improve activity in economy.

As to the future, the management of economic activity — the same as in all fields — will proceed upon a more and more democratic basis, with the broad participation of the collectives of working people; we will create a good background to enable broad discussion of the problems of our society's advancement, with a view to seeking out the most suitable ways and means of building socialism.

An important rôle is played by the organization and management of economic enterprises. Life has demonstrated that one-man management no longer corresponds to the current stage of our socialist system of production. In the conditions of the public ownership of the means of production, the objective necessity becomes obvious of achieving collective leadership, the direct participation of the working people in running economic activity. The setting up of the management committees and of the administration councils, the obligation to submit accounts and reports to the general meetings of the employees correspond to the new conditions of development of the productive forces in our country. This makes it possible for the basic problems of the activity of enterprises to be the result of the thinking of the best specialists, of the entire collective of working people.

A particularly important problem of conducting society, of improving the relations of production in our system is the rational organization of the State apparatus, its simplification and its getting closer to the masses, the systematic reduction of the administrative and office staff and the continuous increase in the directly productive personnel, the coming closer of the central management bodies to the production units, to concrete

economic-social activity. It is in this spirit that the measures for improving the administrative organization of the country's territory have been conceived and carried out, which offers a superior framework for the participation of the masses in public government, for raising the efficiency and promptness of the local bodies of State power.

APPENDIX – 1

THE ROLE OF THE NATION UNDER SOCIALISM

Source: Report of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, 1972

Criticism against the nation is coming from several directions. I do not want to deal with the attacks on the part of the ideologists of imperialism, nor with the cosmopolitan conceptions, because they mirror the imperialist circles' tendency of world domination; for those circles the strengthening of the national states is a barrier to the fulfilment of their aims. Criticism against the nation on the part of progressive and even Marxist-Leninist circles, however, are difficult to understand.

According to some, the nation is an historically obsolete notion, and the policy of national unity and the development of the nation, especially in the conditions of building socialism, is a wrong policy and is a manifestation of national narrow-mindedness. It has even been said that this policy is opposed to socialist internationalism. That is why we have to take up this problem again, to re-state the viewpoint of the Romanian Communist Party on the role of the nation and the paths for the development of the socialist nation.

In order to better understand how the national question has to be tackled today, the role of the socialist nation and its prospects, we have to set out from the well-known Marxist-Leninist thesis which is based on the analysis of social development in the spirit of dialectical and historical materialism according to which the nation is the result of a complex historical progressive process. As you know, the nation appeared at a stage of the flourishing and development of human society and became a powerful factor of progress and civilization in the world.

An analysis of the realities on various continents of the world clearly points out that the process of the formation of national states, of nations, is far from having been completed. In certain zones one might even say that this process is still in its early phase. Even in the developed countries, in which the nation has a long historical past, one finds that the national feeling, the defence of national independence and sovereignty are primor-

dial factors on the road of democratic and revolutionary transformations, of social progress.

The analysis of historical evolution made on the basis of dialectical and historical materialism offers incontrovertible proof that national feelings and the desire for the formation of nations have survived and have strongly developed despite foreign oppression and domination. Not even the prolongation of foreign rule over hundreds upon hundreds of years – and such examples exist in the history of the peoples in the Balkans where the domination of the Ottoman empire continued for over 500 years – has changed the national character of a people, foreign rule was unable to prevent the process of the formation of national states and the independent assertion of the nations. This is also the case in Africa, Asia and Latin America, where the struggle for national liberation, for the emergence of national states, for the achievement of national unity and for the assertion of national independence are acquiring unprecedented scope. That is why we believe that the process of the formation of national states, of achieving national unity continues to be an essential requirement for an important part of the world, that under the present international circumstances the fight against foreign domination, for achieving national unity is part and parcel of the general struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. Setting out from this, we believe that we have to act with full determination in support of the national liberation struggle and the formation of unitary national states, in support of the development of the nations and the establishment of relations of full equality between them.

As to the problem of the nation in the conditions of socialism, we have to say that the victory of the new system has opened up the road for the achievement of a true national unity, for strengthening and developing the nation on new bases. On freeing itself from class oppression, the working class became the exponent of the entire nation and assumed the responsibility for the development of national unity on new, superior basis, for the prosperity of the social nation. The powerful assertion of the fundamental features of the nation in the conditions of building the socialist society goes hand in hand with the change in the character of some of these features and with the emergence of new features which consolidate and strengthen – on a new basis – the socialist nation. I am thinking, in the first place, of the fact that the socialist nation bases itself on the community of interests linked to the new social system founded on the socialist ownership of the means of production. At the same time, in the conditions of socialism we see the formation of a single outlook on the world and life based on dialectical and historical materialism. Furthermore, a new science and culture arise, a new advanced ethics takes shape which contributes to moulding of a new man, the man of the socialist and communist society. In the socialist society a process takes place bringing town and village nearer to each other; the classes are gradually disappearing and society becomes homogeneous; the fundamental differ-

ences between physical labour and intellectual work are gradually eliminated.

The emergence of these new features of the nation do not, however, lead to its disappearance, but on the contrary, consolidate it, creating conditions for its rise to a new and qualitatively superior level. One might say that a new type of nation is being formed, incomparably more powerful and more homogeneous than the bourgeois nation – the socialist nation in which an ever fuller concord between the productive forces and the relations of production is being achieved, an ever more solid unity of the working people.

At the same time, we must always have in view that there is a law-like process of rapprochement between the nations on the basis of equal and freely consented collaboration, that at a certain stage of the development of the society probably in the era of full communism, certain essential differences between nations will disappear and a close and many-sided cooperation will develop between them. It is precisely in view of that historical prospect that we have to pay greatest attention to the flourishing of the nations, to the assertion of relations of collaboration on the basis of their equality. The dialectical process of the nations coming nearer to one another presupposes their powerful assertion as well as the assertion of the new principles of relations between them. In my opinion, we are far from considering that the nation has ended its historical mission.

APPENDIX – 2

FURTHER STATEMENT ON POLICY ON NATIONAL MINORITIES

Source: Report of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, 1972

Everything achieved in our country in the years of socialist construction, the entire economic and social development of the homeland incorporates the work of the Romanians, Magyars, Germans, of all the citizens, irrespective of their nationality, who are building on the soil of Romania their free and independent future – the communist future.

Starting from the fact that Romania is a unitary national state which also has co-inhabiting nationalities the Romanian Communist Party has worked consistently for the solution of the national question in our country in the spirit of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We have centred and are centering our concerns on the ensurance of equal rights to all citizens, whatever their nationality. Believing that for this we must impetuously develop the productive forces throughout the territory of the country, our Party and State have paid special attention to the industrialization and modernisation of agriculture, to the creation of a powerful economic basis scientific and cultural in all the regions, to the active participation of all the working people in productive activities, to the establishment of conditions to enable

all to fully benefit by the boons of socialism. We believe that industrialization, the general development of the productive forces in all the counties and zones of this country represent the basic condition of the fully equal rights of all the working people, regardless of nationality.

I must also mention that in certain stages of our country's development certain mistakes were made. In the first place, I should remind you that between the first and second world wars, parellel with the correct attitude adopted by the Party against the measures of national oppression, for the defence of the interests of the co-inhabiting nationalities and for the winning of equal rights for them, the Party also launched certain erroneous slogans concerning the secession of certain territories from the Romanian State. These slogans did great damage to the unity of the national democratic forces and to the very unity and collaboration of the Romanian working people with the working people of other nationalities. Those slogans were completely turned down by life and, *inter alia* by the fact that, as I have said, in 1940 the working people and all progressive forces regardless of nationality resolutely opposed the Vienna Diktat of dismembering the country.

Even after the liberation of our homeland, certain wrong measures were adopted. In this respect I would recall the evacuation of the German and Serbian population, the total expropriation of the agricultural land belonging to the Germans and other economic measures which seriously harmed the respective population as well as the entire national economy and, particularly, our nationalities policy in general.

However, all these mistakes have long since been put right; a resolute end has been put to such practices, to such deviations from the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party. Today, we can say with justified pride that among the results of our general policy there is also the just settlement of the national question and, as a result, the strengthening of the unity of the entire people in the struggle for socialism for the building of the many-sidedly developed socialist society in Romania.

The History of the Working Class Movement in Romania up to 1948

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Following the strong sharpening of the economic and social contradictions resulting from the emergence of the capitalist relations of production, the 19th century was dominated in this country by powerful revolutionary upheavals. The people's rising led by Tudor Vladimirescu, the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848 in Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, the Union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859 and the formation of the Romanian national State, the agrarian reform of 1864, the winning of national independence in 1877 stimulated the advance of society, the growth of the country's forces of production. In the second half of the 19th century the development of capitalist relations of production in our country was accompanied by the beginning of the creation of industry. The appearance and development of capitalist industry went hand in hand with the birth of a new social class, the proletariat, which assumed the historic mission of carrying forward the people's revolutionary struggle, of liberating the whole of society from exploitation and oppression, of inaugurating the era of social justice.

The existence of feudal forms of production in agriculture hindered the development of capitalist relations of production in the villages and put a brake on the evolution of the entire economy. In those conditions, the abolition of landlord property and the distribution of land to the peasants became a highly acute fundamental problem of social progress.

In the second half of the 19th century foreign capital began to penetrate into Romania's industry and to seize the main indus-

trial branches. The foreign imperialist trusts gave a unilateral character to economy for the purpose of transforming the country into a source of cheap raw materials and into a market for the sale of their products; they interfered in Romania's internal affairs and seriously harmed the country's independence and sovereignty.

The development of the forces of production and the changes brought about in the relations of production led to deep-going transformations in the class structure of society. Even after the agrarian reform of 1864 and other bourgeois-democratic reforms the landlords continued to have powerful positions in the national economy and in the country's political life; at the end of the last century more than half of the country's arable land was the property of the big estate owners. Linked as they were to obsolete forms of ownership and relations of production, forms that were outworn by history, the big landlords were the most reactionary class of society, which stubbornly opposed every progressive and democratic reform and change.

The mass of the peasantry, lacking land and political rights, subjected to the double exploitation of the landlords and the capitalist leaseholders, and vitally interested in the abolition of the landlord ownership, rose time and again to fight against the exploiting classes, for economic and democratic reforms, for a better life. The peasantry was a strong progressive force of society, but because of the absence of organization it could not yet turn to account its entire revolutionary potential.

The expansion of capitalist relations, the development of industry, increased the role of the bourgeoisie in the country's political and social life. The capitalist class was interested in the development of the industrial economy, of trade and transport, in the utilization of science and technique in production; this corresponded to the objective requirements of the progress of society. In the second half of the 19th century, numerous thinkers and politicians demonstrated the need of industrialization for the progress of society, for the future of Romania and the strength-

ening of her independence, creating a powerful current of opinion for democratic reforms that would secure the country's manysided development.

Because of the conditions in which the bourgeois-democratic revolution took place in Romania, part of the bourgeoisie entered into a political alliance with the landlords, and this had negative results on the country's economic and social evolution. At the same time, the class limits of the bourgeoisie became more and more evident, there was an intensification of the exploitation of the proletariat and of the measures taken to restrict the rights and liberties of the working masses. Nevertheless, the bourgeoisie, in the full tide of ascension, still had to play an important part in the social and political life of Romania.

The most important event during that period was the affirmation on the arena of history of the working class, the most advanced force of society, the consistent bearer of the ideals of progress, of the social and national liberation of the Romanian people. Thanks to its class nature and its place in material production, the proletariat became the spokesman of the aspirations of the entire working people; its interests fully corresponded to the interests of all the working people and to the objective requirements of social development.

At the time, Romanian society also had a large middle class — made up of small craftsmen, merchants and other social categories — whose objective interest resided in the country's democratic development.

As a result of economic, scientific and cultural progress, the country's intelligentsia was formed, which, in spite of all the contradictions of its political attitude, played an important role in the social-political life of Romania.

The economic and social structure at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century showed that Romania was in the first stage of capitalist development.

An analysis of economic and social data demonstrates that

there is no basis for the affirmations of some historians and economists according to which at that time Romania had entered upon the stage of monopoly capitalism and become an imperialist State. The process of the concentration and centralization of production and capital had only just begun and it was far from playing a dominant role in Romania's economic and political life. Finance capital was in an incipient stage; the banking and the credit systems were strongly hit by big international finance capital. Romania not only did not export capital and did not participate in the division of the world market, but herself belonged to the sphere of influence of the big imperialist powers and was an object of that division. The imperialist monopolies were disputing their place on the Romanian market and an important part of our country's territory was still under foreign occupation.

The development of the struggle of the working class was indissolubly linked to the appearance and dissemination of scientific socialism, of Marxist ideas in our country. The democratic tradition of Romanian thinking, the intense activity in the theoretical realm carried on by progressive and revolutionary thinkers, like Nicolae Bălcescu, Cezar Bolliac, Mihail Kogălniceanu, C. A. Rosetti and others created a favourable climate for the dissemination of the socialist ideas. As far back as the beginning of the 19th century the ideas of Utopian Socialism had penetrated into our country; their leading representative was Teodor Diamant — the initiator of the phalanstery of Scăieni-Prahova in 1835 — a representative figure of Fourier's socialism on a European plane. Parallel to the foundation of the First International, in the activity of which Romanian socialists such as Mircea Rosetti, Gheorghe Panu, Vasile Conta and Zamfir Arbore also took part, and concomitantly with the setting up in Timişoara of a section of the International, headed by Gheorghe Ungureanu and Carol Farcaş, socialist ideas became more widely known in Romania.

An outstanding contribution to the dissemination of Marxism

in our country, to the moulding of the class consciousness and political ripening of the proletariat, was made by the socialist publications "Contemporanul," "Revista Socială," "Critica Socială" as well as by some original surveys of Romanian thinkers as for example "What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?", "Karl Marx and Our Economists," "The Materialist Concept of History," "The Anarchy of Thinking" and others. A series of representatives of the socialist movement like Iosif Nădejde, Ştefan Stîncă, Panait Mușoiu, Raicu Ionescu-Rion and Constantin Z. Buzdugan tackled important problems of Romania's social and political evolution in the light of scientific socialism.

Of outstanding importance in elucidating the social problems of the country was the theoretical activity of Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea — one of the most prominent socialist thinkers of our country at that time. In spite of all their shortcomings and limitations, the works of Dobrogeanu-Gherea played a highly important role in the history of social sciences in Romania, in spreading the Marxist ideas, in the advancement of the revolutionary concept of the proletariat.

The living and working conditions of the working masses were particularly hard because of the exploitation exercised by native capitalists and foreign imperialist trusts. This led to the sharpening of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, determined the intensification of the class struggle between them and speeded the organization of the working class in Romania. In the second half of the last century — one could say concomitantly with the birth of the working class — the first professional organizations and political circles of the workers were formed and the first workers' newspapers appeared. The strikes and demonstrations for the satisfaction of economic claims, for winning the eight-hour working day and the right to organize, reflected the level of development of the political class awareness of the proletariat: The political campaigns initiated by the working-class and socialist movement for obtaining the

right to universal suffrage had a powerful influence on the country's social life. Leaders like Alexandru Ionescu, Constantin Olcescu and others rose from the ranks of the proletariat and played an important part in organizing and guiding the working-class movement of our country.

The creation of the Social Democratic Party of the Workers of Romania in 1893 was a moment of historic importance in the development of the social struggles in our country, in organizing the working class on a national scale; it was the beginning of its assertion in the main problems of the social and political life of society at that time. The foundation of the Social Democratic Party of the Workers of Romania marked the intensified dissemination, within the framework of our working-class movement, of the scientific theory on the world and life elaborated by Marx and Engels, the great teachers of the international proletariat.

Adopting as the main and immediate claims the improvement of the material and intellectual condition of the workers, the right to strike, to organize, to meet, to general education, to the eight-hour working day, the programme of the Social Democratic Party of the Workers of Romania also voiced, for the first time in the history of Romania, the necessity to struggle for "the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and their transformation into social property," "the destruction of the bourgeois society and the establishment of the socialist society."[1] The attitude of the socialist movement against the monarchy, for a democratic republic, for the achievement of the equality of all citizens irrespective of nationality, contributed to the creation of a broad democratic opinion in Romania.

As throughout the territory of the country, the working-class movement of Transylvania asserted itself with growing power. The setting up, beginning with 1890, of the local organizations of the Social Democratic Party in Transylvania, the inten-

[1] The Programme of the Social Democratic Party of the Workers of Romania, Bucharest, 1894, p. 7

sification of relations between the socialists of Romania and those of Transylvania, the ever closer unity of the proletarian forces of different nationalities were factors that favoured the development of the working-class movement, the creation of the national unity of the Romanian people.

From its very beginning, the working-class movement spoke up in favour of developing industry, demanding the promotion of a protectionist customs policy and the securing of the qualification of the labour force. "The creation of industry," wrote the socialist newspaper "Lumea Nouă," "is such a serious necessity in this country that indolence in this respect can result in the biggest misfortunes for the country. Romania cannot remain an agricultural country . . . a large-scale industry must be set up in Romania."[1] Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea noted the fact that the development of industry was the main path for doing away with the country's lagging behind, for opening new horizons to Romanian society. He wrote: "Where the shrill sound of the hooter calls the multitude of workers to work, where the mass of workers turn up the bowels of the earth in the mines, where the huge hammers smash the steel blocks, where the forests of chimneys soaring to the sky announce the triumph and victory of human labour over nature. . . where the tremendous struggle between labour and capital which must give birth to the new world seethes and foams. . . that is where the ***future*** is born !"[2]

Under the influence of the ideas of the socialist movement, many scientists, artists and scholars guided themselves in their works according to materialist ideas, took a stand against social injustice and expressed their sympathy for the cause of the working people.

The intensity of the activity carried on by the Romanian socialists attracted the attention of world public opinion, including that of the leaders of the international working-class movement.

1 "Lumea Noua," October 17, 1895
2 C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, *Neoiobagia*, Bucharest, 1910, p. 494

Friedrich Engels noted with satisfaction the process of ideological and political maturity of the working-class movement of Romania, appreciating the fact that the Romanian socialists had adopted in their programme the main principles of the Marxist theory.

Being at the beginnings of its affirmation, the socialist movement of our country also had a series of limitations, confusions persisted in its ranks due to the stage of social development, to lack of experience and insufficient ideological ripening, as well as to reformist theories and opportunist practices which predominated in the Second International. The heterogeneous character of the Socialist Party, the existence in its leadership of some elements who were not linked with the working class, who were inconsistent from the political and ideological points of view, resulted in its disorganization at the end of the century. However, the advanced section of the proletariat, revolutionary militants such as Ioan C. Frimu, Ştefan Gheorghiu, Mihail G. Bujor, Alecu Constantinescu, Vasile Anagnoste, carried forward the working-class movement, succeeded in reorganizing trade-union activity at the beginning of the 20th century, and then, in 1910, in re-establishing the Socialist Party of Romania. The Social Democratic Party, "the offspring of the old socialist roots," as it called itself, initiated and led the working-class actions in those years and made the proletariat assert itself still more as the most advanced political force in Romania.

A characteristic feature of social life in the last decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century were the peasant movements that culminated in the big rising in the spring of 1907. The 1907 rising, its scope and intensity, the claims voiced by the mass of peasants, spotlighted the acute necessity of removing the feudal relations of production, of solving the agrarian problem in favour of the mass of the peasants; it revealed the great revolutionary energy of the peasantry and represented one of the glorious pages of the Romanian people's social struggle.

During the rising, the working-class movement, concerned

with the agrarian question ever since the last century, powerfully expressed its solidarity with the peasantry, its protest against the repressions unleashed by the ruling circles, demanding that land be given to the peasants. The support lent by the working class to the struggle of the peasantry forecast the dawn of the worker-peasant alliance which was to become the most powerful social and political force of our society.

One of the great events that dominated the beginning of the 20th century was the 1914—1918 World War, unleashed by the imperialist powers in order to divide the spheres of influence in the world, to lay hands on colonies and foreign territories.

The Social Democratic Party of Romania joined the left-wing parties and groupings of the Second International which condemned the imperialist war; it played an active role in organizing the international socialist conference at Zimmerwald directed against the war. Disclosing the danger threatening Romania from both imperialist camps, the Romanian socialists militated for a policy of neutrality. The working class rose against the war and organized many strikes, meetings and demonstrations, including the heroic struggle of the Galați workers in June 1916. After two years of neutrality, bourgeois-landlord Romania joined the imperialist coalition of the Entente, which promised the satisfaction of the demand for national unity.

The problem that deeply preoccupied the social classes, the masses of people of Romania, was the setting up of a unitary national state — a century-old aspiration of the Romanian people, a lawlike necessity for the development of Romanian society. As Lenin said in January 1917 ". . . very many Romanians and Serbians (in relation to the total number of Romanians and Serbians) live outside the borders of 'their' State, and, generally speaking, 'the building of the State' on the bourgeois-national line has not been completed in the Balkans. . ." [1]

[1] V. I. Lenin, *Opere complete* [Complete Works], vol. 30, second Romanian edition, Publishing House for Political Literature, Bucharest, 1964., p. 355

In the conditions of the downfall of the Hapsburg Empire, of the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution which dealt a powerful blow at the imperialist system, the possibility arose of victoriously crowning the national liberation struggle of our people, of completing the process of formation of the Romanian Unitary National State. The achievement of the unity of the Romanian State — the work of the broad masses throughout the country, of our entire people — provided the national and the social and economic framework for the more rapid development of the productive forces; the bringing together of the energies and creative capacities of the people created favourable conditions for the activity of society's progressive forces, of the revolutionary working-class movement.

The Great October Socialist Revolution, the foundation of the first socialist State in the world, ushered in, in the history of mankind, the era of proletarian revolutions, the era of transition from capitalism to socialism. The victory of the proletariat in Russia, led by the Communist Party built by Lenin, the ideas of October, stimulated the revolutionary spirit of the working class, of the broad masses of the people on all the meridians of the globe, resounding like an ardent call to struggle for the achievement of their aspirations to liberty and progress, for social and national liberation.

The Romanian working people expressed their solidarity with the victorious proletariat of Russia in many mass manifestations and demonstrations. Thousands upon thousands of Romanian workers who were evacuated with the respective enterprises to Russian territory and numerous Romanian prisoners, former soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army, formed revolutionary batallions and military units, fighting with devotion and selflessness for the cause of the revolution.

The deepening of the social and economic contradictions of the bourgeois-landlord régime, caused by the war destructions, by the disorganization of economic activity and by the worsening

of the material conditions of the masses of the people, resulted in an impetuous growth of the revolutionary upsurge and fighting spirit of the working masses between 1918 and 1920. Emphasizing the fact that "the Russian revolution has made the first step" on the path of the proletarian victory on a world scale, that "today marks the beginning of a new era in world history," the Romanian socialists showed that "our liberation can and must be only our own work." [1] The powerful demonstration of December 13, 1918 in Bucharest, the many strikes, meetings and big manifestations at which more than once the masses succeeded in ruling the streets, demonstrated the intensification and the organized character of the struggle of the proletariat, its will to win, by revolutionary means, democratic rights and liberties, of imprinting on social development an orientation corresponding to the interests of the working people.

Of outstanding importance was the 1920 General Strike which was the first to include the entire Romanian proletariat in the struggle against the exploiting classes. Because of its scope and revolutionary fighting spirit, the General Strike was the most important moment in the history of the class struggles in Romania; it powerfully shook the very foundation of the bourgeois-landlord régime. The working class asserted itself as a national force, capable of assuming the role of leader of the entire people in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, of guiding the destinies of the whole nation.

The actions carried out by the working class during the revolutionary upsurge, the General Strike of October 1920 also spotlighted the necessity of creating a revolutionary Party capable of organizing and leading the proletariat in the struggle for the implementation of its historic tasks.

The deep-going and rapid process of radicalization through

[1] "Documents of the History of the Working-Class Movement of Romania (1916—1921)," Publishing House for Political Literature, Bucharest, 1966, pp. 71, 72

which the working-class movement of our country passed in those years was accompanied by political and ideological elucidations, by the determination to break with the Reformism of the Second International. The great majority of the members of the Socialist Party of Romania favoured the transformation of the Socialist Party into the Communist Party, and its affiliation to the Third International created by Lenin, the adoption of a consistently revolutionary line.

In the autumn of 1920 the Romanian socialists sent a delegation to Moscow to discuss the affiliation of the working-class movement of our country to the Communist International. During the discussions with the representatives of the Third International, Gheorghe Cristescu, Constantin Popovici and Eugen Rozvani, who were on the Romanian delegation, expressing their adhesion to the Leninist principles with regard to the Party of a new type, raised a series of objections to the assessment made by the Comintern of the situation in Romania, assessments which showed that the realities of our country were not known. They also objected to interference of the Comintern in establishing the composition of the leading bodies of the Communist Party of Romania, considering that this was the inalienable attribute of the Party itself.

The Congress putting the seal on the transformation of the Socialist Party into the Communist Party of Romania took place in Bucharest, on May 8, 1921. Having on its agenda problems and documents of fundamental importance for the working-class movement, including the Party Programme and Rules, the agrarian question and others, Congress discussed the report on the Party activity and the report on the affiliation to the Communist International. Among those participating in the Congress were outstanding militants of the socialist movement — Gheorghe Cristescu, who up to the Third Congress was General Secretary of the Communist Party of Romania, Alexandru Dobrogeanu-Gherea, Andrei Ionescu, Dumitru Grofu, Gheorghe Niculescu-

Mizil, Gheorghe Stoica, Constantin Mănescu, Mihail Cruceanu, and others. At the Congress the overwhelming majority of the delegates voted for the creation of the Communist Party and its unreserved affiliation to the Communist International and part of them voted for the foundation of the Communist Party and its affiliation to the Communist International expressing reserves as to the obligativity for the component parties of the decisions taken by the Communist International. It can therefore be said that the Congress of May 1921 unanimously decided to transform the Socialist Party into the Communist Party of Romania.

Between 1920 and 1929, parallel to the strengthening of the economic power of the big industrial-financial bourgeoisie, we witnessed the strengthening of its political domination and the accentuation of the reactionary character of bourgeois-landlord State power. With the aim of securing maximum profit, the ruling classes and the foreign imperialists intensified the exploitation of the masses of the people, and restricted democratic rights and liberties; in 1924, the suppression and stifling of the revolutionary movement culminated in the banning of the Communist Party.

It should be said that the reactionary policy of capital found the working class disunited as a result of the fact that after the 1921 Congress the right-wing group of the former Socialist Party which had opposed the creation of the Communist Party, set up the Social-Democratic Party. This led to the split in the unity of the working class for a long period of time, with the most serious repercussions on the revolutionary and democratic struggles in Romania.

Carrying on its activity, in the underground conditions, the Communist Party combined underground work with legal work, setting up a number of organizations such as the Unitary Trade Unions and the Worker-Peasant Bloc, which unfolded large-scale political activities in the ranks of the workers and peasants. At the same time the Party channelled its efforts towards the achieve-

ment of the unity of action of the working class, towards the creation of the worker-peasant alliance.

The Second, Third and Fourth Congresses of the Party, held in that period, reflected the preoccupation in the ranks of the Party for clarifying some ideological and political problems, for crystallizing its general political line, tactics and strategy; efforts were made in order to achieve the organizational consolidation and the strengthening of the Party's links with the broad masses.

However, this was a difficult process owing both to the ideological inheritance from the old socialist movement and to the conditions in which the Party had to carry on its activity, which prevented the broad and principled discussion within the Party of the social-economic questions of Romania's development. To this must be added the negative consequences of the Comintern practices of appointing the leading cadres of the Party, including the General Secretary, from among people outside the country, who were not acquainted with the life and preoccupations of the Romanian people. The older Party members remember that two militants of other communist parties were nominated as general secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Romania at the Fourth and Fifth Congresses. If we recall that other leaders of our Party too were nominated at that time from the ranks of people who did not live in Romania and were not acquainted with the social and political conditions of the country, we realize the harm caused by this practice to the revolutionary struggles in our country during that period. The ideological confusions of that time within the working-class movement, the existence of petty bourgeois, self-seeking elements in the Party, as well as the above-mentioned practices, led to the 1929 factional struggles which seriously disorganized the activity of the Party, bringing it to the brink of dissolution, and this in the very period of the capitalist offensive against the masses of the people and on the eve of great class battles.

An important stage in the development of the Communist Party of Romania was the Fifth Congress, held in 1931, at the height of the economic crisis. The Congress made a more thorough-going analysis of the economic and political situation in Romania, of the relationships between the classes and the political forces, and established that Romania was in the period of the completion of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, that it was the proletariat which had the historic task to organize, in alliance with the working peasantry, the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord régime and the gradual transition to the socialist revolution. On the basis of this conclusion, the Fifth Congress laid down the general line, the strategy and tactics of the Party. It put an end to the factional struggle, and endorsed measures for the Party's organizational strengthening, for the development of its links with the broad masses of the working people.

The Fifth Congress orientated the Party towards intensified efforts for achieving the United Workers' Front, to the strengthening of the unity of action of the working class, and envisaged new forms of struggle to organize the broad masses with a view to defending their economic and political interests.

It is also necessary to emphasize that in the assessments made by the Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of Romania a series of confusions and erroneous interpretations continued to be manifest concerning important problems related to the Party's general political line, its strategy and tactics, such as the peasant question, the national question and others.

Although in our country the peasantry carried a considerable social weight, and the solution of the agrarian question through the expropriation of the landed estates and the distribution of land to the peasants was decisive for the carrying through of the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the transition to the socialist revolution, a wrong slogan prevailed for a long time in the Party with regard to "the nationalization of land," the collectivization of agriculture through "village communities" under the condi-

tions of the bourgeois-landlord system. The Fifth Congress abandoned these wrong theses and adopted the correct slogan of the expropriation of the landlords and of the distribution of the land to the peasants without payment. It did, however, not succeed in elucidating thoroughly the Party position toward the various sections of the peasantry in the period of carrying through the bourgeois-democratic revolution, mechanically taking over slogans which accorded with other countries and other conditions; it did not draw up a clear programme of the development prospects of Romanian agriculture. This prevented the Party at that time from unfolding a broad activity and from enhancing its political influence among the mass of peasants, from achieving the worker-peasant alliance.

Erroneous assessments made their way in the Party with regard to a number of political parties and groupings in our country. Assessing the Social-Democratic Party and the Independent Socialist Party — in whose activity certain reformist conceptions and many wrong practices were manifesting themselves — as agencies of the ruling classes, was prejudicial to the cause of creating the United Workers' Front. A sectarian attitude was manifest with regard to the left-wing, democratic groupings within some bourgeois parties, labelled without discernment as fascist or of a fascist tendency. This prevented the Party, in a certain period, from making an objective appreciation of the balance of forces in the country's political arena, from concentrating on the struggle against the reactionary leaders of the bourgeois-landlord parties, and primarily against the rising fascist organizations.

In a series of documents, resolutions and decisions of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Congresses, Romania was mistakenly called "a typical multi-national State," created on the basis of "the occupation of some foreign territories." Incorrectly assessing the process of the formation of the national State, these documents charted the task of unfolding a permanent and intensive activity

in view of the so-called "liberation from Romanian imperialism" of the "oppressed peoples" on the basis of the principle of the nations' right to self-determination up to their full severance from the existing State. The introduction into the documents of the Party of the slogan of self-determination up to the severance from the unitary State, the indications given the Party to fight for the severance from Romania of some territories which were overwhelmingly inhabited by Romanians did not pay heed to the concrete conditions of Romania — a unitary State. They were deeply erroneous; they actually called for the dismemberment of the national State and the Romanian people's disintegration. The Marxist-Leninist teaching proclaims the right of the peoples to self-determination not with a view to the disintegration of the established national States, but, on the contrary, with a view to the liberation of the oppressed peoples and their constitution into sovereign national States in conformity with the will and decision of the mass of the people.

These assessments and slogans were abandoned as incorrect during the ensuing years; in the Party documents of the years 1938—1939 a firm stand was taken in defence of national unity, of the Homeland's independence and sovereignty.

The erroneous theses and slogans to be found in the Party documents during this period were due to the absence of a thorough-going analysis of the history of the Romanian people, of the social and economic development and of the balance of forces in our country, as well as to a mechanical adoption of some theses that had been elaborated abroad, in consequence of the practices of the Comintern which laid down directives that ignored the concrete realities of our country, gave tactical orientations and indications which did not comply with the economic, social-political and national conditions prevailing in Romania.

The negative effects of these practices and methods applied in that period in the working-class movement of our country demonstrate the tremendous importance for the revolutionary

struggle of the strict observance of the right of each Party to independently shape its own policy, since it is only the respective Party that is in a position to know the realities in its country, to objectively assess the political tasks of each stage.

During the years 1929—1933, broad sections of the people, headed by the working class waged ample social struggles against the offensive of the foreign capital and monopolies. During the period of economic crisis, the working-class actions acquired increased force and combativity, embraced further categories of the proletariat, increasingly combined economic claims with political objectives. The official documents of the time show that in 1929 the number of labour conflicts amounted to 317, in which 105,000 people were involved. In the 1929—1932 period, 377 strikes took place with the participation of workers from 1,054 enterprises; the strikes totalled about 845,000 working days. Moreover, 840 latent labour conflicts were recorded in a great number of enterprises.

The first great class battle in the series of social struggles of this period was that of the miners of Lupeni, in 1929. Large-scale strikes were also joined by the metal workers in Bucharest, Arad, Resita, Brasov, the textile workers of Buhusi and Cluj, the lumbermen in Mures Valley, the miners of Livezeni, Doicesti and Aninoasa, the oil workers in the Prahova Valley, the dockers of Constanta, Brăila and Turnu Severin, as well as by thousands of other workers throughout the country.

New forms of organizing and mobilizing the masses emerged in the course of the struggles waged during this period. Of special importance was the setting up of committees of action, strike committees and enterprise committees which included communists, independent socialists, social-democrats and non-party workers; the United Workers' Front from below and the unity of action of workers were achieved in numerous enterprises and localities on that basis. During the actions organized in this period new more advanced forms of struggle were emerging: street demons-

trations of solidarity with the strikers, the organization of self-defence units, and sit-in strikes.

Burdened by debts and taxation, the peasants in the Botosani, Romanati, Sălaj, Sibiu, Gorj, Bihor and other counties rose against exploitation, heavy taxation, the abuse of the authorities, and there even were clashes with the gendarmes. Teachers and civil servants, students, invalids, widows and pensioners put forward their claims.

The struggles waged during these years culminated with the big revolutionary battles of the railwaymen and oilworkers of January-February 1933. The Communist Party, through its local Party bodies and organizations, the cells in factories and workshops, was the organizer and leader of these important working-class actions.

In 1932, the National Conference of the Railwaymen elected a Central Committee of Action which had to coordinate the activity of the local committees of action with a view to a simultaneous start of the strike by all the categories of working people of the Romanian railways. The Central Committee of Action included workers, delegates from the main railway centres; Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej was elected its secretary, being entrusted by the Party with leading the activity of this committee.

The Party Committee of Bucharest carried out an intense activity in organizing the working-class actions in the Capital. Under its leadership, the local trade-union commission, whose secretary was Dumitru Petrescu, played an important part in the preparation for the unfolding of the strikes, in organizing the Bucharest working people's solidarity with the strikers.

The actions of the workers on strike at Grivita developed under the direct leadership of the Party organizations of the railway workshops. An important role in preparing the struggle was played by the workers' trade union and during the strike by the strike committee and committee of action. During the

strikes there came to the fore scores of revolutionary activists, Party members and non-Party members, actively taking part in the struggles, among whom Constantin Doncea, chairman of the trade union committee and of the strike committee, Dumitru Popa, Chivu Stoica, Constantin Mardare, Vasile Bîgu and others.

The Grivita struggles of February 1933, during which the railwaymen heroically faced the forces of repression of the bourgeois-landlord régime, spotlighted the revolutionary fighting spirit of this detachment of the working class, its determination to defend its vital interests. Although they had acquired a mass character, the battles of the railwaymen did not include all categories, for instance, those active in the traction and traffic sector: the strikes in Jassy, Cluj, Oradea, Galați and Pașcani were not started concomitantly with the one at Griviția, and in a series of railway centres like Brașov, Constanța, Timișoara, Buzău and Arad there were no strikes at all. Therefore, the scope of these battles was not comensurate throughout the country with the revolutionary upsurge of that period.

The battles waged by the oilworkers in Prahova Valley, in January-February 1933 also had a wide scope. The broad mass character of these actions embracing thousands upon thousands of working people, the particularly sharp forms of struggle, culminating with the occupation of the centre of Ploiești by the masses, demonstrated the great militancy of this contingent of the Romanian proletariat. The role of leader of the revolutionary actions in the Prahova Valley was played by the County Committee of the Communist Party of Romania, supported by the activity of the local trade-union organization, the strike committees and the committees of action, made up of all categories of workers. During the fight dozens and dozens of activists emerged from the ranks of the strikers courageously advancing in the van of the masses. Among those leading the revolutionary actions in the Prahova Valley were Gheorghe Vasilichi, Secretary of the County Committee of the Communist Party, Tănase Avramescu, Constantin Nico-

Iaescu, Constantin Mănescu, Mihail Moraru and others.

The class struggles during the period of the economic crisis and particularly the struggles of January-February 1933 were highly important episodes in the history of our working-class movement, and had a tremendous impact on political and social life in Romania. They dealt a serious blow at the exploiting classes, put a brake on the capitalist offensive against the economic and political rights of the working people. Taking place shortly after the establishment of the fascist-Hitler dictatorship in Germany, the struggles waged by the Romanian proletariat in 1933 had also an international significance, being among the first big actions undertaken by the world proletariat against fascism.

In the class battles waged in the years 1929—1933, the working class, headed by the Communist Party, powerfully asserted itself in the arena of history as the most advanced force of Romanian society, the vanguard of the fight of the whole people against the fascist danger, for economic and political rights, for democracy, national independence and sovereignty. During those battles as

After the economic crisis, industrial and agricultural production recorded a continuous increase, reaching its peak level under bourgeois-landlord régime in 1938. The process of concentration of capital and production became accentuated, particularly in the heavy, mining and processing industries; there was also a marked process of formation of monopolies, which began to play a dominant part in the economic and political life of the country.

During that period the influence of the reactionary monopoly circles was increasingly felt in the country's political life. A process of casting off bourgeois democracy, of restricting civic rights and liberties was accentuated.

The most characteristic phenomenon of the ultrareactionary trends promoted by the circles of the Romanian oligarchy was the setting up of the fascist-type terrorist organization "The Iron Guard" and its forced assertion in the country's political life. The Legionary movement, the agency of Hitlerism in Romania, fully

subservient to German imperialism, pursued a profoundly anti-national policy, gravely prejudicing the interests of the Romanian people. In collusion with the representatives of the monopoly bourgeoisie, it betrayed the interests of the people, subordinated the country to the domination of Hitler's Germany, endangering the very existence of Romania as an independent and sovereign State.

The working class headed by the Communist Party, the broad masses of the people and some circles of the national bourgeoisie rose against this reactionary policy.

Many democratic politicians and representatives of the progressive intelligentsia voiced their alarm at the intensified activity of the Iron Guard and at the danger of the country's enslavement to German fascist imperialism. A number of politicians such as Nicolae Titulescu, Nicolae Iorga, Grigore Iunian, Virgil Madgearu, D. Dobrescu, Grigore Filipescu, a.o., took a stand against the aggressive expansion of Nazi Germany, exposed fascist activity at home, campaigned for the development of cooperation with other states and for the strengthening of the country's security. In those years, Romania signed the convention for the definition of the aggressor, established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, took measures for strengthening cooperation with the countries of the Little Entente and the Balkan Pact. The point was reached when a Romanian-Soviet draft treaty was drawn up which was to regulate, on the basis of reciprocal respect for independence and sovereignty, mutual assistance and reciprocal aid between the two States if one of them was attacked.

In those circumstances, the Communist Party of Romania, expressing the vital interests of the broad masses, actively militated for the union of all the democratic and patriotic forces of the people in defence of the country's independence and sovereignty. The carrying out in that period of joint actions of the Communist Party with the United Socialist Party and the Socialist Party, as well as with some organizations of the Social-Democratic

Party, strengthened the unity and fighting spirit of the working class, its influence on the political life of the country.

In 1933 the Ploughmen's Front was set up, led by Dr. Petru Groza, a democratic organization of the peasantry, which was to play an important role in achieving the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry. The political activity of the peasantry and of the other non-proletarian social sections developed under the impulse of the working-class movement. The rising of the Romanian and Magyar peasants in the Ghimes Valley in 1934 was followed by a series of peasant movements throughout the country against taxes, forced auctions and gendarme terror. The communists participated in meetings and demonstrations organized in 1936 and 1937 by the National Peasant and Radical Peasant parties lending them a combative character, influencing their transformation into anti-fascist manifestations under the slogan of the popular front.

The Party extended its contacts with the democratic groups and organizations, established links with different fractions of the bourgeois political forces and with a great number of political personalities. The Union of Communist Youth made a notable contribution in the work carried on by the Party among the youth. All during those years a number of mass democratic and antifascist organizations set up by the Communist Party — the National Antifascist Committee, the Association of Antifascist Youth, the Labour League, the Women's Antifascist Committee, the Students' Democratic Front and many others — campaigned for the defence of democracy and of the people's national interests. Many legal publications of a democratic and progressive character were brought out in those years, and an intensive activity was carried on in the ranks of the intellectuals against the country's fascization, for the promotion of a progressive culture.

The outcome of this broad political activity carried on by the communists was the setting up of the Democratic Front which brought together the Communist Party of Romania, the Socialist

Party, the United Socialist Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the Union of Magyar Working People of Romania, some local organizations of the Social-Democratic Party, of the National Peasant Party, of the Radical Peasant Party and of the Peasant Party of Dr. Lupu.

The allied democratic forces succeeded in recording a series of outstanding successes in the political life of the country. They defeated the reactionary circles in the parliamentary by-elections of 1936 in the Hunedoara and Mehedinti counties, and in 1937 in the county council elections in Ploieşti, Cluj, Jassy, Bihor and in many other localities. The Romanian people stood up more and more resolutely against fascism and the Nazi threat, for the defence of democracy and national independence.

The heroic struggle waged in those years by the Communist Party at the head of the working class and of broad progressive forces under the banner of democracy and the country's independence, the clearsighted attitude of some political groupings of the ruling classes for a while prevented the ascension to power of the fascist organizations and the country's enslavement to Nazi Germany. However, the policy of bowing to the aggressive pretentions of the Hitlerites pursued by the Big Powers negatively influenced the evolution of events in our country, as in other European countries.

After the Munich Agreement, which opened wide the road for Germany to the countries in South and Eastern Europe, the reactionary political circles of Romania openly took the path of betraying the national interests. The Romanian-German economic agreement of 1939, followed by other onerous treaties, subordinated Romania's economy to the interests of the aggressive policy of Germany, placed the economic and political life of Romania under the latter's control and gravely encroached the sovereignty of our people.

Aware of the fact that the domination of German imperialism was a deadly threat to the Romanian people, the working class,

headed by the Communist Party, rose to resolute struggle against the enslaving Romanian-German Pact, against the plans of the Nazi Reich to occupy Romania. The communists called the people to armed resistance, declaring themselves ready to defend "the independence of Romania with arms in hand, should our country be compelled to wage a war of national defence against fascist imperialism." In March 1939, after Czechoslovakia was occupied by Germany, the Romanian people were ready to help the Czechoslovak people and to oppose by the force of arms the expansion of the Nazi aggressors. When the Government decreed partial mobilization, the Communist Party recommended to its members and sympathizers to present themselves at the military units and to be ready to do their duty to the Homeland. In the autumn of that year, the Polish troops and civil population that took refuge in Romania from the German invasion were warmly received and supported by our people.

The upsurge of the antifascist movement in Romania was mirrored in the series of fighting actions that took place in this period, in the big antifascist demonstrations organized on May Day 1939 under the sign of our people's opposition to fascist Germany, for democratic freedoms, for the defence of the country's independence. In Bucharest, more than 20,000 citizens demonstrated in the streets against Hitlerite Germany, and as a symbol of the determination to fight in defence of the Homeland, laid wreaths at the Grave of the Unknown Warrior. Similar manifestations took place in Cluj and Jassy. At the same time, important groups of the bourgeoisie, some financial circles close to the National Bank, and leaders of bourgeois political parties realized that disaster was hovering over Romania, took a stand against the enslaving clauses of the economic agreements imposed by Germany. The fighting spirit of the antifascist demonstrations in Romania was also noted by the World Conference for the Defence of Peace and Democracy held in Paris on May 13 and 14, 1939, which pointed out that the demonstrations of May Day 1939 in

Bucharest were "a proof that the Romanian people rally to the antifascist movement and that it is their will to effectively fight against the aggressor and fascism." [1]

In the conditions of this revolutionary upsurge of the masses, when German fascism had already attacked and subjected many European countries, the Directives of the Comintern of 1940 addressed to the Communist Party of Romania, instead of appreciating the correctness of the struggle against the Hitlerite war and of calling for the intensification of this fight, criticized the Romanian communists for their activity against Germany's aggression and for their stand in defending the Homeland's national independence. Contrary to the obvious realities, the Directives of the Comintern stated: "Germany and Italy do not want, at the present stage, that the Balkan countries be drawn into the war. They want to develop the output of cereals, oil and different raw materials needed by them. Only the war incendiaries — the British and French imperialists — wish and endeavour at the present stage to hinder the development of production in those countries and their trade with Germany. It is only they who try by all means to open a front in the Balkans against Italy, so that afterwards they could attack Germany from the flank." Arbitrarily placing fascist Germany alongside the Soviet Union, it was further stated that the people of Romania, the working class and its Party were faced with the task of not permitting "the transformation of Romania into a bridgehead of Britain and France for a war against Germany and against the USSR," demanding that the slogan "defence of the frontiers," with which the Party had succeeded in rallying broad patriotic forces be unmasked "as a continuation of the policy of rapprochement with Britain and France and of the war against Germany and the USSR." [2]

[1] Archives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Section I, file No. 211, p. 169

[2] Archives of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, Section I, files 15—22

These directives, which ran counter to the political line of the Party, to the necessity of struggle against fascism and Hitlerite aggression, provoked profound confusion and disorientation in the Party, hampered for a while its activity, created the danger of estranging from the Party broad social sections, many political groupings. They had grave repercussions on the entire activity carried on in Romania for uniting the people against fascism and German aggression.

As you know, in August 1940, the Vienna Diktat was imposed upon Romania under which the northern part of Transylvania was taken away and handed over to Horthy's Hungary. The Communist Party, numerous political circles, the Madosz and other democratic and patriotic organizations, including groups of the army, rose against the Diktat, organized powerful people's manifestations in different centres of the country, asked for armed struggle for the defence of the Homeland's integrity and sovereignty. In that difficult moment for their country's destiny, the Romanian people were alone, without any outside help, abandoned by all European powers. Romania was obliged to accept the unjust conditions of the Vienna Diktat. In this way she was left to the beck and call of Germany, was actually thrown into the arms of the Hitlerite forces. Soon afterwards, the régime of the fascist military dictatorship was set up in our country, the German troops, which in fact had the mission of occupation troops, penetrated into the country and Romania was then dragged into the anti-Soviet war.

The period of the military fascist dictatorship and of the war waged alongside Hitlerite Germany is the darkest page in the modern history of Romania. By carrying out the orders given by Germany, the military fascist dictatorship pursued a policy of predatory exploitation of the country's natural resources and wealth, and put industry, agriculture and transport in the service of the Hitlerite aggressive war. Romania's economy was ruined in the war years, her resources were exhausted and this

caused industrial output to stand at the end of the war at about 50 per cent compared with that prior to the war. Only the damage caused by Germany to Romania by taking industrial and agricultural products without payment, by not paying taxes and duties, etc., rose to over 446 million dollars (at the 1938 exchange rate).

The Communist Party, the exponent of the national interests of the entire people, resolutely rose from the beginning against the aggression of fascist Germany and the war waged against the Soviet Union, voiced the anxieties and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the country's population, organized the antifascist resistance and the struggle of the masses for the overthrow of the Antonescu régime, the withdrawal from the war waged alongside Germany and the joining of the anti-Hitlerite forces. In its resolution on the anti-Soviet war of July 1941, in the Platform Programme of September 1941, in the document "The Perishing or the Salvation of the Romanian People" of January 1942, and in many other materials, the Communist Party addressed to the entire people the call to fight for the cessation of the anti-Soviet war, for the overthrow of Antonescu's fascist régime, the ousting of the Hitlerites from the country and the re-conquest of Romania's liberty and independence Mobilizing tens of thousands of revolutionary militants and patriots for resistance, the Party organized groups of sabotaging armament production and military transports, as well as patriotic fighting detachments which were in action in the Prahova Valley, in the Vrancea and Parîng Mountains, in the Danube Delta, in the Maramureş and Suceava regions. A powerful impetus was given to the antifascist resistance by the setting up in 1943 of the Anti-Hitlerite Patriotic Front which included the Communist Party, the Ploughmen's Front, the Union of Patriots, the Madosz, the Socialist Peasant Party and the local organizations of the Social-Democratic Party.

Resistance to the fascist dictatorship and Hitler's Germany

included broad circles, among them those of the bourgeois parties and the royal palace, which expressed their hostility to the German occupation, and protested against the country being plundered by the Hitlerites. Germany's representatives in Romania found that at the National Bank and in the bourgeois circles that owned the oil, mining and metallurigical industries a powerful anti-German resistance was developing. In October 1943 Hitler's economic representative in Romania, Clodius, informed the government in Berlin in connection with the demand that Romania increase her deliveries of products to Germany: "My repeated attempts to induce the Romanian Government to change its attitude have given no result... The Governor of the National Bank stuck to his position of refusal and declared, solidary with the whole management of the Bank, that he would have to resign if Germany's demands were met even in part"[1]. In order to ensure the exploitation of the country's resources and wealth for war supplies, Germany resorted to military occupation. In the spring of 1944 the German Militaty Command declared that it "no longer takes into consideration any kind of political or economic conditions in Romania but orders in Romania what it considers necessary"[2] In fact this happened from the very beginning of the German army's penetration into Romania.

Strikes and acts of sabotage against the war and German occupation organized by the workers employed in industrial enterprises and transport were intensified as well as the opposition of the peasantry to requisitioning and the call up, and acts of protest by the intelligentsia, all of them expressing the entire people's hatred of the Hitlerite war, the desire to liberate themselves from the fascist yoke.

[1] Deutches Zentralarchiv Postdam Auswärtiges Amt. Handels politische Abt. (1936—1945), Handakten Clodius Bd. 68736 Seite 344, Photocopy in AIIP, file 219, vol. 5

[2] General Department of State Archives, the Section of German Documents, file 790/5, 519,526, p. 9

In many letters, memoranda and protests addressed to Antonescu's government, political leaders and personalities of Romanian culture spoke up against the Hitlerite war and German occupation. In the memorandum sent in April 1944 to Antonescu, by 66 scientists, members of the Romanian Academy and university professors of Bucharest, Jassy and Cluj, it was stated that "a terrible disaster threatens the existence of our nation," that "the vital interests of our state and people demand the immediate cessation of the war, whatever the difficulties of this step may be. The sacrifices Romania will have to make will be incomparably smaller and less painful than the continuation of the war." [1] The deep hatred of the broad masses for the Hitlerites, for the horrors of war, were also expressed in lampoons and articles published in the Press of that time by many cultural personalities.

Reflecting the discontent and revolt of the working masses, the anti-Hitlerite feelings became more pronounced in the ranks of the soldiers and officers. Many soldiers refused to leave for the front, mass desertions took place. Commanding army officers, patriotic generals and officers openly voiced the opposition to the Hitlerites and Antonescu dictatorship.

All this shows that a strong anti-fascist state of mind, a burning desire to overthrow the military dictatorship and the domination of Hitler's Germany was developing in the ranks of the large masses of the people, of all political circles.

In the years 1943—1944 Hitler's Germany suffered smashing defeats from the Soviet armies and from the other powers of the anti-fascist coalition. The Soviet Union carried the burden of the war, making the greatest sacrifices, and winning the admiration and gratitude of all the peoples for its heroic struggle. The victories over Germany, which led to the weakening of fascism, gave a new impetus to the struggle of the anti-fascist forces throughout

[1] "România liberă" of September 6, 1944

the world and also inspirited the Romanian people in their struggle for liberation from under the fascist yoke.

In the conditions of growing resistance against Germany, and the deepening of the crisis of the régime of fascist dictatorship and the defeats suffered by Hitler's armies on the front, the Communist Party, in collaboration with the other anti-Hitler forces, intensified the fight for the overthrow of Antonescu's government, the turning of weapons against Germany, for Romania's joining the anti-Hitler coalition. With this aim in view, the Party active inside and outside prisons, headed by Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, elaborated the plan of action for the carrying out of the armed insurrection, and took measures for the strengthening of the Party leadership by removing the wavering elements and the capitulators. In order to secure the operational conduct of Party activity, with a view to fulfilling these tasks, the Party active appointed comrades Constantin Pîrvulescu, Emil Bodnaras and Iosif Ranghet.

At the same time, the activity for the achievement of the union of all anti-Hitler forces was intensified. In April 1944, an agreement was reached between the Romanian Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party for the setting up of the United Workers' Front. This was of outstanding importance and speeded the union of all the democratic forces for the overthrow of the fascist régime. Agreement for the creation of the National Democratic Bloc was reached in June between the Romanian Communist Party, the Social-Democratic Party, the National Peasant Party and the Liberal Party. The programme of action of the four parties provided for the withdrawal of Romania from the anti-Soviet war and her joining the United Nations, the country's liberation from German occupation, the re-establishment of national sovereignty and independence, the removal of the fascist dictatorship and the establishment of a democratic régime.

The Party also carried out intense activity in the ranks of the army and strengthened its links with numerous patriotic

generals and officers. In the summer of 1944, the Military Committee was set up whose task was to prepare the armed insurrection.

As you know, in August 1944 Hitler and Antonescu decided that a total mobilization of forces should be carried out in order to continue the war against the Soviet Union. In that situation, the Romanian Communist Party, in collaboration with the other anti-Hitler forces, proceeded to carry out the armed insurrection. On August 23, Antonescu's government was arrested in the Royal Palace by a group of officers and non-commissioned officers and handed over to the patriotic fighting units. A government headed by Sănătescu was set up, which included one representative from each of the four parties belonging to the National Democratic Bloc. The Declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party stated: "The Communist Party of Romania, a Party of the working class, represents the interests of the entire Romanian society, those of the workers and peasants as well as of the intellectuals and all the sections of the urban population, of the entire Romanian people in their struggle for national liberation, in their struggle for winning civic and democratic rights... In the inevitable clash with Hitler's forces, the Communist Party of Romania calls upon the working class, the peasantry, the intellectuals and all citizens of Romania to ruthless struggle, with all weapons, against the deadly foe of the Romanian people, for securing their future."[1]

In the night between August 23 and 24, the army and the patriotic units began to immobilize and disarm the German military units. The Capital and the largest part of the country's territory were liberated after heavy battles.

A new era began in the history of our country; the gates to the liberation of the Romanian people, to the road of social progress were thrown wide open. Romania turned weapons against Germany and joined the anti-Hitler coalition, fighting with all

[1] "România liberă" of August 24, 1944

her military and economic forces to make her contribution to the final defeat of Nazi Germany. Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Army, the Romanian Army fought for the smashing and eviction of Hitler's and Horthy's troops from the country's entire territory and continued military operations beyond our frontiers actively participating in the liberation of Hungary and Czechoslovakia up to the final defeat of fascist Germany and the victorious conclusion of the war in Europe. Starting with the operations during the insurrection and up to May 9, 1945, the Romanian military units participating in the anti-Hitler war totalled nearly 540,000 men. Romania's military losses in the big battles against the fascist occupants reached about 170,000 men. In many orders of the Supreme Soviet Command, Romanian units, generals and officers, were more than once cited for their bravery in the fight against fascism. In recognition of their contribution to those battles, more than three hundred thousand soldiers, non-commissioned officers and officers were awarded Romanian, Soviet and Czechoslovak orders and medals for their heroism and bravery.

The blood shed in common by the Romanian and Soviet soldiers on the anti-Hitler front developed and strengthened Romanian-Soviet friendship-in-arms and laid the foundation for the fraternal collaboration that has been established between our countries and peoples. Romania's history will preserve the indelible memory of the heroes who laid down their lives in the fight against fascism, the undying feats of the Romanian and Soviet soldiers on the anti-Hitler front, the contribution of all the Romanian patriots who fought against fascism, for the Homeland's Liberation.

Immediately after August 23, the Party began to organize its activity in the new conditions of legality. Relying on the tens of thousands of Party members and sympathizers who had fought during the underground movement under its leadership, the Party succeeded within a short time to organize its forces in the main industrial enterprises, in the villages, in the cultural and educational establishments, in all the country's centres. During

that period, the Party organized the united trade unions and the youth organizations, and fought for the further consolidation of the United Workers' Front and the achievement of the political and organizational unity of the working class. At the same time, the Party extended its understanding with the other democratic parties and organizations, setting up the National Democratic Front, which included the Romanian Communist Party, the Social Democratic Party, the United Trade Unions, the Ploughmen's Front, the Union of Patriots, the Magyar People's Union, the National Peasant Party led by Anton Alexandrescu, youth, women's and other organizations and political groupings. The National Democratic Front represented a large coalition of all the forces concerned with the real democratization of the country, with the carrying out of the economic and social reforms demanded by the needs of social development in Romania.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party, huge masses of the population engaged themselves in a sharp struggle against reaction, evicted the reactionary prefects and mayors, began to organize workers' control in the factories, to expropriate the big landlords, and to distribute land to the peasants, thus actually carrying out the land reform, and participated in the battle for the democratization of public life. It was in the heat of those political, economic and social battles waged by the mass of the people against the forces of internal reaction, who were backed by foreign imperialist circles, that the Government of broad democratic concentration, led by Dr. Petru Groza, the outstanding patriot and eminent politician and statesman, was set up in March 1945. The establishment of the first Government in the history of this country in which the working class had the leading role, was a great victory in the revolutionary struggle of Romania, ensuring the democratic and progressive development of our society.

You will remember, Comrades, the difficult situation in which the country's economy found itself in 1945, after nearly four years of Hitlerite domination and war. Industrial output in a number of

branches in 1944 had dropped to about 50 per cent in comparison with the pre-war level; only ten per cent of the machine-tools existing in 1943 were still in operation; the transport capacity of the railways had decreased to 30 per cent in comparison with 1943. Agriculture was exhausted by Hitlerite robbery, by the requisitions during the war, by the destructions caused during the fighting on the front. This difficult economic heritage was aggravated by the drought of the years 1945 and 1946, by reactionary sabotage, by the freezing of Romania's foreign currency and bonds in the Western capitalist countries. The war reparations Romania had to pay and the other material losses totalled over one thousand million dollars. In those conditions, the main economic task was the reconstruction of the national economy which had been destroyed by the war, the growth of output. The fulfilment of those tasks required great efforts on the part of our people, especially on the part of the working class which bore the brunt of the struggle and the work to supply the front and to do away with the aftermath of war.

It became an objective necessity to develop the forces of production, to continue with the intensification of the democratization of the country's life. Proceeding from these requirements for social progress at the respective stage, the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, held in October 1945, focussed the Party's concern on the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, the improvement of the population's living conditions, the consolidation of the unity of the working class and of the alliance between the workers, peasants and intellectuals, and the strengthening of the unity of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces. The National Conference elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the outstanding militant of our Party and of the international communist movement, who, for nearly two decades, headed the Party and the State in the work for the construction of socialism.

During that period, substantial changes took place in the relation of forces in society : the working class consolidated its positions in political and social life; the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry became stronger following the implementation of the land reform; the unity of all democratic and progressive forces developed. The victory scored by the Bloc of Democratic Parties in the parliamentary elections of 1946 reflected the wide social and political basis on which the democratic government was relying, the fact that the reactionary bourgeois parties, about to disappear from political life, were compromised and isolated from the masses.

The country's democratization, its forward march, were opposed by the parties of the exploiting classes, by the king and his camarilla. It became absolutely necessary to overthrow the monarchy, which had become an obstacle to social progress. The proclamation of the Romanian People's Republic marked the beginning of people's democratic power, the transition of Romania to a new stage of social development — the stage of the socialist revolution.

The Patriotic Tradition in Romania

3

1 – THE HISTORIC LEGACY OF THE ROMANIAN PEOPLE

December 1st, 1918 is inscribed in the history of the Romanian people as a crucial moment, among the many moments which the Romanian people has gone through in its struggle for the preservation of their national being, for social and national liberty. We all know that all along the centuries our people had to face many difficulties; but, being firmly determined to defend itself arms in hand, to sacrifice even lives for the sake of securing its future, it has never knelt down.

On the occasion of this celebration we have unveiled the statue of Michael the Brave, sculptured to honour this ruling Prince — true enough a feudal one — but who represented in a wonderful manner the striving of the three Romanian Principalities towards State unity, in order to face down the foreign invadors, the Ottoman oppression, in order to preserve its national identity, in order to open up the road towards progress and well-being. The statue of Michael the Brave constitutes a symbol of the will of our people to preserve its independence and national sovereignty.

We honour Basarab and Bogdan, Mircea and Stephen the Great, Ioan de Hunedoara and so many other ruling princes — true enough feudal ones, too — but who were all good organizers of armies, good organizers of our people in its struggle for independence. We honour them not as feudal lords but as men ahead of their times who sacrificed everything to drive away foreign oppressors from the ancestral land.

History wished events to proceed as they did. All we can

do is to find what our forerunners have achieved in their time. If we were to solve things ourselves we would solve them differently at the level of our knowledge and strength of today, it is doubtless that this solution would mean to do everything in the interest of our national State, in order to secure a plentiful and happy life to all the inhabitants of Romania.

What the rulers of those days could not achieve has been carried on by others: in 1848, in 1859, in 1877, in 1918 and through the unanimous will of the people the unity of our national State has been achieved. It was not a result of any sort of peace treaty, it was not the will of some power from outside; the union came as a result of the will of the Romanian people, longing for freedom and independence. It is true that circumstances at the end of the First World War were favourable. As a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution, of a number of revolutions for national liberation, of the great social movements of the social masses, empires have fallen, among them the Hapsburg one, which should have fallen a long time before. On the ruins of this empire, free and independent peoples have risen, who started to build their lives on different bases, without foreign oppressors and invadors. We consider that although it was achieved under the circumstances of the existence of the bourgeoisie, this was nevertheless a progressive act, that led to the development of human society.

You may well ask why do I remind you of all these events, here at Alba Iulia. I remind you of them because we must never forget that what has been achieved through struggle and the blood of our forerunners must be preserved and defended with devotion.

Of course we are living other times. The bourgeois-landlord régime was done away with in Romania. Power belongs to the working class, the peasantry and intellectuals, to our people, master of its own destiny, and who wishes to create its free life — in keeping with its power and its material and intellectual possi-

bilities — the socialist life, a golden, communist future.

By asserting here, at Alba Iulia, the decision of our people to unflinchingly go along the road of socialist construction, to the steadily raising the material and spiritual well-being of our Homeland, we swear that we shall do our utmost to make socialism and communism triumph in Romania. Nothing on earth will divert us from fulfilling this historic mission which the Romanian Communist Party — the leading force of our entire nation — has set for itself.

2 — THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITIONS OF THE ROMANIAN PEASANTRY

In the history of the Romanian people, the peasants have made many sacrifices along the times, and it could be said that they bore the brunt of the struggle for national and social liberation. The revolts led by Doja, Horia, Cloşca and Crişan, the rising of 1907 are only some of the episodes in the series of struggles waged along the centuries by the Romanian peasants for social justice, for national liberation, for the preservation of our nation's identity. You well know that in the fighting forces of Stephen the Great the Moldavian peasants were always in the forefront; they were those who helped both Stephen the Great and the other Moldavian ruling princes to defend our national identity, to carry through the national unity of our people.

That is why, on taking part in this meeting of the peasants of Botoşani, of the Flămînzi commune, we remember with reverence those who kindled the flame of the 1907 rising, pay our homage to all those who along the centuries washed the Romanian soil with their blood and through their work and struggle have built Romania of today.

Of course, comrades, we are living in other times. The Romanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, has become

master of its destiny. The working class, the peasantry and intelligentsia are building in Romania a new system, without landlords and capitalists, the system of the manual and intellectual workers, in which all the assets belong to the people. On remembering the glorious fighting past we pledge to do everything to ensure the continued advance of the Homeland towards the peaks of progress and civilization, of welfare.

If the peasants can build today the life they wish, it is due first to the fact that they rallied with a reliable class, with a tested friend, with the working class, the most advanced class of society. If the peasants can now fulfil their aspirations for a better life, this is due to the fact that they have a tested leader, the Romanian Communist Party, whose supreme goal is the welfare of the entire people.

3 – THE PATRIOTIC TRADITIONS OF THE ROMANIAN ARMY

Our people's army, built and led by the Party is the bearer of glorious fighting traditions, of ancient military virtues, emanated from the deep love of the country, which was handed down as a live flame from generation to generation. Difficult circumstances forced the Romanian people along its millenary history to defend on numerous occasions with arms in hand — against all kinds of foreign invaders — the ancestral land, its national being, the right to existence, the freedom and independence.

The valiant army of the fearless Decebalus, the legendary leader of the Dacians, the staunch soldiers of our famous voivodes and great army commanders — Mircea the Old, Ioan of Hunedoara, Vlad the Impaler, Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, expressing the undying love of liberty of the people, heroically and valiantly defended the ancestral land, generously shed their blood for it, chose if needed heroic death rather than

bow down to the enemies, never betrayed the cause of the people.

Veritable epic pages were written in the chronicle of our people's struggles for national and social liberation by the pandours of Tudor Vladimirescu ; the national army of 1848 ; the soldiers who in 1877 fighting courageously and heroically at Griviţa and Plevna, at Rahova, Smîrdan and Vidin sealed Romania's State independence with their blood; the Romanian officers and servicemen who defended, at Mărăşeşti, Mărăşti and Oituz every inch of the country's soil with a matchless spirit of sacrifice.

The valour and selflessness, fearless in face of the enemy, the unflinching confidence in the justice of the cause and in victory, the boundless love for the Homeland, all these virtues of which our forbears gave proof of in the struggles waged across the centuries gained new brilliancy in the heat of the armed insurrection of August 1944, and in the fierce battles fought on the anti-Hitlerite front. In particularly difficult conditions, officers and generals, the whole army — animated by patriotism and the feeling of duty for the destinies of the country — enthusiastically responded to the call of the Romanian Communist Party making their contribution to the overthrow of the Antonescu dictatorship ; the entire Romanian army resolutely and selflessly took part, alongside the people's masses,in the carrying through of the insurrection, and turned the weapons on the Hitlerite troops. Alongside the Soviet army it fought with courage for the liberation of the country's entire territory and further on fought on the soil of Hungary and Czechoslovakia until the final defeat of fascist Germany, covering its fighting banners with immortal glory.

We may state that in this struggle our army has for ever linked itself to socialism, to communism.

In crucial moments of the history of our people — on the battlefields during the War of Independence of 1877, in the struggle at Mărăşeşti with the invading armies of German imperialism — the

Romanian soldiers faced the common enemy, shoulder to shoulder with the soldiers of the neighbour Russian people, laying the foundations of their friendship in arms. The fight of the Romanian army on the anti-Hitlerite front alongside the Soviet army — which bore the brunt of the war against nazi Germany — the blood shed in common have sealed for ever the Romanian-Soviet brotherhood-in-arms, the lasting alliance and friendship between our countries and peoples.

Communism and Romania

4

1 — THE RECORD OF THE ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Born in the heat of big class battles, the Romanian Communist Party raised aloft the banner of struggle in defence of national dignity, for safeguarding the interests of the working class and of all those who work. Asserting itself on the arena of political struggle in Romania under the circumstances of a powerful offensive by the exploiting classes against the revolutionary and progressive forces, the Romanian Communist Party wrote by its activity glorious pages of revolutionary heroism and abnegation in the history of the Romanian people. Facing most savage oppression the Party organized the popular masses in the struggle for democratic rights and freedoms, for the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord régime.

The Communist Party campaigned for a foreign policy in defence of the country's national independence and sovereignty, against foreign imperialist domination, for peace and international cooperation, for friendship with the Soviet Union, against the plans of dragging Romania into the war. In the period of military-fascist dictatorship, our Party resolutely rose against fascist Germany's aggression, against the anti-Soviet war, organized the resistance of the anti-fascist forces in our country. Promoting a firm and consistent policy of defence of the vital interests of the Romanian people, our Party managed to achieve — during the years of war — the United Workers' Front and the rallying of all anti-Hitlerite patriotic forces which carried through the historic act of August 23, 1944 — the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship, the turning of arms against

Germany, our country's joining the Soviet Union and the other forces of the anti-fascist coalition. Our Party was the decisive factor in mobilizing all the forces of the Romanian people to the fight fought alongside of the Soviet Army, up to the complete smashing of German fascism.

From the very first days after Liberation, the Party unfolded an intense political and organizational activity for increasing its ranks, for its organizational strengthening — as this was an essential factor of Romania's very development along the pathway of democracy and socialism. The Party paid primordial attention to the organization of the working class — the most revolutionary class of society, which was in the van of the struggle of the toiling masses — to the strengthening of the alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry, to the rallying of all progressive and patriotic forces for the defeat of the exploiting classes, the victorious advancement along the path of our country's democratization, the building of new Romania. The tasks related to the fulfilment of the historic mission of the proletariat in the new society rendered imperative the organizational and political unification of the working class, the foundation of a single Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of those who work. The foundation of this single party of those who work — the Romanian Workers' Party — marked a significant political victory of the revolutionary forces in our country, met an imperative historical necessity determined by the struggle for winning power and for the socialist transformation of Romanian society.

The carrying through of the programme of the country's industrialization, of the socialist transformation of agriculture, of raising the level of agricultural output required big efforts from the working class, from the peasantry and the intelligentsia, from the entire Romanian people, who, overcoming numberless difficulties and obstacles, translated into life the Party's policy of building socialism in Romania. In less than 20 years, radical changes came about in the economic and social structure of our

country; the productive forces witnessed a steady progress, the socialist relations of production grew general throughout the economy. In Romania, the exploitation of man by man has been done away with for ever, socialism has triumphed for good and all in the towns and villages.

As a result of the radical social changes and of the vast ideological and political activities carried on by the Communist Party, the years of socialist construction witnessed a profound moral renewal of society, past morals and manners cultivated by the exploiting classes have been replaced more and more by the outlook on life and ethical principles of the working class. The effects of the educational activity carried on by the Party, of cultivation of its ethical and philosophical ideals are reflected in the citizens' new attitude towards work, towards public property, towards the interests of the socialist society.

A notable victory of the Marxist-Leninist policy of our Party, of our socialist system is the abolition of any form of inequality, national discrimination and oppression, the providing of conditions for a free, unhampered assertion in social life of all working people, regardless of nationality. On this basis the indestructible unity between the Romanian people and the national minorities has been cemented; today, all the country's inhabitants, Romanians, Magyars, Germans, and those of other nationalities, are part and parcel of the great united family of the Socialist Republic of Romania, are devoting their energies and working vigour to the thriving of our common Homeland.

A powerful motive force of our system is socialist patriotism, manifest in the conscious efforts made by the broad masses of the people for the country's prosperity, in the enthusiasm with which they are implementing the Party's policy, the provisions on the economic plans. Acting in the spirit of proletarian internationalism — its characteristic feature throughout its existence — our Party has shown its fraternal solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of communists, of peoples building socialism, of the

national liberation movement, of working people everywhere; internationalist solidarity has at the same time been a valuable political and moral support given to our own struggle for winning power and establishing the socialist system.

Romania has travelled a glorious path in all spheres of economic, social and spiritual life, the socialist system has fully proved its durability and vitality; our socialist nation with its whole material and human potential is blossoming.

The fundamental political factor securing the triumphant building of socialism in Romania has been the vast activity conducted by the Party in all the domains; the people has realized by its own experience that our Communist Party is the loyal exponent of its vital interests, its tested guide on the road of freedom and happiness, and that is why it surrounds it with boundless affection and devotion, considers it to be the only leader of the socialist nation. The removal from power and abolition of the exploiting classes have determined the disappearance from the arena of Romanian political life of the parties representing the interests of those classes and for which there was no longer room in the country's social and political structure. The vanishing of the former political parties, the formation of the single party of the working class — which rallies in its ranks the most advanced exponents of the working class, of the peasantry and of the intelligentsia, linked by a profound unity of interests — the assertion of the Party as leading force of society are thus the outcome of an objective lawlike process, of the entire historical development of post-war Romania.

The Romanian Communist Party's capacity of leading force of society has asserted itself ever more powerfully with every passing year, as the work of building up the new system has been amplifying and deepening. With every new step on the path of socialism the unity of the people around the Party has got increasingly cemented, its prestige and authority with the broad masses of the people has grown still more.

2 – THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF A PARTY MEMBER

A communist must be a model of devotion and consciousness in work, of a disciplined attitude towards Party tasks, professional duties, the standards and laws of social life. Closely preocupied with the steady enhancement of the role of communists in work, in the field of production, the Party organizations must devote greatest attention to their political profile, to their level of ideological and cultural training. An important duty of the members of our Party, stipulated by the Rules, is assimilation of the basic principles of the materialist-dialectical teaching, thorough knowledge of the policy of the Romanian Communist Party. The Party members must continuously broaden their cultural horizon, must assimilate the great gains of contemporary scientific thinking, of human knowledge. Only in this way will they be capable of approaching all the circumstances of life from the most advanced positions, will acquire wisdom and clearsightedness in their entire activity.

The principles of social equity and justice of our ideology require from communists to consistently cultivate in every circumstance the spirit of justice, typical of the Communist Party, fullest objectivity in the assessment of facts and people, in the promotion of social values. Selfish interests, arrivistic tendency, compromises in the matter of principle are alien to communist ethics, to the Rules of our Party. Such negative features seriously alter the moral countenance of the communist, making him, whoever he is, incompatible with the noble title of Party member. A communist's sliding along this way at the same time harms the prestige and authority of the Party and the interests of society and therefore cannot be tolerated under any reason.

Each communist must have a model attitude to the family — to which our Party and society assign a primordial role in the development and flourishing of the socialist nation —, to the education of the young generation, a flawless behaviour in personal life, in his entire social existence.

The Party members must not overlook the fact that influences of the bourgeois ideology have not ceased to act in social life — influences generated both from the inside, by elements belonging to the former society, and also from the outside, by the world which is hostile to socialism — influences against which the communists must preserve their entire revolutionary vigilance. One of the all important duties under the Rules devolving upon Party members is keeping of the Party and State secret. The expression of superficiality by some Party members, divulgation, without discernment, of some problems of inner Party life, the superficial attitude of some State activists towards economic secrets, towards actions and steps that involve the interests of our State, must be severely combated.

The task of our Party, of its bodies and organizations is to cultivate in the ranks of all Party members the advanced ethical and spiritual traits of the man for whom creditable service to society, to his Homeland stands above all.

3 — THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF TEACHERS, WRITERS, ARTISTS, SCIENTISTS, AND THE MEDIA

The complexity of educational work among children and young people requires on the part of the teaching staff and the parents to appeal to artistic and cultural creation, which, by its very nature, can exert a powerful influence upon the conscience of the young generation, upon the development of its thinking and sensibility. Children, young people, need a literature, written with great

skill, which should enhance their imagination, enrich their soul and mind, to give them advanced human types, heroic characters worthy of following in life. Writers and poets can find in this domain to which they are invited to grant increased attention, unlimited scope for fructifying their creative talent and power.

We are convinced that, by understanding what the people and our society expect of them, our writers will give us more and more novels, poems, literary works, which, through their content should correspond to the requirements of the formation of a youth with advanced conceptions, profoundly humanist, which should be able to fulfil under the best conditions, the task of building our society. Our composers are also due to our children and young people more works, more inspired ones, for all types, first of all inspired from the life and work of our people, to meet their desire to sing, to manifest their vitality and youthful enthusiasm. By creating new, valuable works, dedicated to the education of the young generation, men of art and culture fulfil a high patriotic duty, they contribute to the steady spiritual advancement of the people, to creating a bright future in Romania.

An important role in the noble work of educating children devolves upon cinematography, the theatre, radio, TV and the Press for children. These institutions are called upon to enlarge and improve their activity, to produce shows, broadcasts, articles with a rich educational content, under the most attractive forms, in order to bring an increased contribution to the formation of the young generation, of the future builders of socialism and communism.

4 – THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF COMPOSERS OF MUSIC

I sometimes go on hunting parties and while waiting for the game, listen to the singing of the birds that fill the forest air with their songs. You know well that sometimes there are stray birds in our forests that are not from these parts. It can be easily observed that they do not sing with the same gaiety, with the same originality as those that were born and learned to fly here. This is also valid for the composers. By referring to the composers, I have in mind not territorial wanderings, but a certain philosophical or spiritual wandering that can hinder them from being understood by their co-nationals. Our Party and Government consider that by participating more actively in the cultural life of the contemporary world, by getting acquainted with and mastering the latest achievements of universal art, the men of art of Romania have the duty to assert with passion the spiritual assets of the Romanian people, to make known to everybody its artistic genius. By this they fulfil a noble patriotic mission and an important international mission.

By producing such works, our composers fulfil also a high social task, making of their talent a means of moral perfectioning and of aesthetical education of man, a mobilizing factor of the masses' energies in the service of society's progress. In connection with this, a number of composers justly emphasized during the General Meeting the necessity of producing music that vibrates deep in the consciousness of the large masses — the comprehension and assimilation by the people being the supreme reason for the existence of any art. The advancement of public education, the raising of the cultural level of the people in the years of socialism put to our composers just as to all the

producers of art increased exigencies for the achievement of high-standard artistic works, rich in content and at the same time largely accessible with our new public.

While calling upon the creative artists to dive into the pulsating life of the people in order to produce vigorous, emotionalizing works which should synthetize the humanist message of this era our Party encourages and stimulates the artists' efforts for steadily perfecting mastery, for a renewal of the means of expression, for constantly expanding the range of styles and creative patterns, for enriching and diversifying our socialist art. These desiderata fully apply also to the sphere of musical creation.

The increasingly intensive cultural life in our country claims a multilateral musical repertoire to duly include all genres. While bestowing on symphonic music, chamber music, opera and operetta music the valuation they deserve, and stimulating efforts for the continuous development of these genres one should not ignore the other musical genres either which are popular with the public at large. I mean first of all mass music, the genre of revolutionary, patriotic song which has a strong impact on the political and civic consciousness of the working people, and which contributes to cultivating love of the Homeland and devotion to the cause of building socialism and communism. A particularly significant role is played by this musical genre in the education of youth and children in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, as well as in the life of young pioneers, in the activity of the Union of Communist Youth and also in the framework of the lavish and ample artistic activity the amateur artists are carrying on throughout the country. That is why we hold it necessary that our finest composers should in their endeavours also concern themselves permanently with choir music, brass band music and marching tunes. Stress should also be laid here on the fact that a particular responsibility in the musical education of the younger generation, in breeding love of songs in them, devolves on the school. Although the serious gaps of past curricula

in this connection have been eliminated, it is still necessary to surmount the passivity of some teaching staff, and unfortunately, also of some organizations of the Union of Communist Youth in relation to the musical activity of youth, to its wish for expressing its élan, optimism and love of life by songs.

5 — THE RIGHT TO PUBLISH

In connection with this allow me to tell you a story I too have heard. Once upon a time — this is how all stories begin — there was no State Committee for Culture and Art nor the Writers' Union, nor even the cultural section of the Central Committee, nor State publishing houses and editors-in-chief of literary publications, neither censure and not even the literary fund, thus no possibility of giving loans or advance payment for literature not yet written. So, nobody limited the freedom of writing. A poet lived at that time — as is said about Prince Charming — who was not quite 20 years old when he started to believe that he was greater than the famous poets, with very many poems to their credit, and white hair. And that he should seem even greater, our poet climbed into a very high tower — I don't know whether it was built of clay or ivory — and started to read from a notebook. Some passers-by stopped and listened, but most went their way quietly. It is true, one man, with white hair, after having listened, not understanding anything, asked the poet to translate what he read. Angrily, the poet answered: how should I translate what I have read in the language everybody here knows I If you did not understand, it means that you are guilty, that you are an uneducated person. My poems are not meant for you, but for cultured people who will be born centuries from now or who might have been born on other planets. And our poet, in his haughtiness asked that the tower in which he wrote his poems

be erected still higher. This is a long story, but it is said that at a given moment the poet climbed down from the tower with great ado and went — I don't know whether on horseback or on foot, as at that time there were no trams, or buses, not even private cars — to the man who at that time occupied himself with transcribing different documents and works. And when he got there, our poet saw the man who listened to him and asked him to translate his poems for his listeners. Looking down on him, although now he was standing on the soil, the poet said: I came to you that you transcribe my poems in 50 copies and as this will take you some time you should pay me on the spot the copyright. The owner of the publishing house — a private enterprise, because as I have already said, State publishing houses had not been set up at that time — looked up to the poet and said: well man, how do you want me to transcribe so many copies when the cultured readers for whom you write have not yet been born? For a single reader, that is you yourself, the copy you have is sufficient. If, however, you still want me to transcribe 50 copies of the poems then I would ask you to pay me for my work. On getting this reply, the poet considered himself very wronged, left angrily and again climbed in his tower and started to cry that there was no freedom of speech. The story does not say what happened to our poet afterwards. Probably, as all stories go, he is still there now. We would like that today there should not be poets like the one in the story, who do not find readers on earth, among the inhabitants of their times. We must say that, fortunately, almost all our writers write for the people in whose midst they are living, for them to understand. Writing for them, skilfully describing their life, foments and aspirations, they concomitantly lay the foundations of lastingness in time of the works they produce, convey a humane message that will find deep response also in the consciousness of the generations to come, of those who will live in the epochs to come.

6 – THE REHABILITATION OF THOSE WHO WERE PURGED DURING THE STALINIST PERIOD

The Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, on discussing the problem of the rehabilitation of some Party and State officials reviewed the activity of the Party and of its executive throughout a whole historical period. This because we cannot analyse and establish the causes which led to a series of transgressions, without really taking into account the entire period and everything that had happened at that time.

Certainly, the question could be posed whether it was necessary or it was not necessary for us to analyse these questions now, whether it were not better to consider that we had nothing to rehabilitate here. Also, another question could be posed: by discussing these problems would not the Party activity of a particularly important, heroic period be shaded? I think that these questions can be answered unhesitatingly. No, we do not shade in any way the Party's heroic activity, because we do not confound the tremendous activity conducted by the Party with the abuses and misdeeds committed by people to whom the Party spirit is alien.

The Presidium and the Executive Committee, the Central Committee of the Party are very correctly acting and comply with the high duty devolving upon them before the Party and people — by clarifying the things in full objectivity, by establishing truth and showing whether the arresting and repressing of some Party and State officials were or were not founded. We must do this with full awareness as Party members.

Of course, comrades, we do this as we feel great bitterness, since for a long while we were used to think and declare publicly, with great satisfaction, that we had nothing to rehabilitate here,

that abuses and transgressions of Party democracy and of socialist legality did not occur in Romania. Moreover, it was said that we were very fortunate to have had someone to defend the Party and State active. And here we are suddenly compelled to note that we too have obligations in the matter of rehabilitation — and, unfortunately, that there are many Party and State activists we have to rehabilitate. Some posthumously, others alive, who suffered different sanctions and repressions. We have, so to speak, the feeling that we suddenly awoke from a fine dream, and noted that reality is quite different. This conclusion was reached on the basis of a thorough analysis of the facts which demonstrates that many abuses were committed during that period, that those who organized them stained their hands with the blood of Pătrășcanu and of other Party and State activists.

Therefore we have a moral and political obligation to re-establish actual truth. Only thus are we fulfilling our duty as communists whom the Party and people have invested with a great responsibility. By casting full light on these highly significant questions, we express our high spirit of responsibility towards the Party, towards the people, towards the cause of socialism in Romania.

The disclosure of the abuses and illegalities committed in that period will not diminish, but on the contrary, will still more strengthen the authority and prestige of our Party before the people, which will see in it a Party that knows how to courageously lay bare the shortcomings, to fight for their elimination, to re-establish truth and ensure the strengthening of socialist legality in Romania.

In the troubled history of our people many abuses and crimes were committed against the people, but the ruling classes, the bourgeois-landlord parties always tried to justify them, to conceal reality and truth. However history, time — the supreme judge — always did justice and condemned the perpetrators of the misdeeds. We are communists and cannot act in this way, cannot leave it to history and time to bring clarification. It is we who

have the duty and task to do justice — and do it today, when those who know the realities and know how things happened are alive. To leave this to history and time would signify to contribute perhaps towards concealing truth and falsifying it. For, if today there are people like Drăghici, who try to deceive the Party and the people, to deny the facts, even in the presence of those who witnessed them as they did happen before their eyes, later it would be much more difficult to re-establish truth.

Our Communist Party is strong precisely because it is capable of analysing its own activity critically and self-critically. This is a proof of its strength and earnestness. At the same time, this also constitutes the sure guarantee that the necessary measures for redress will be taken, that everything will be done to prevent the repetition of such reprovable acts in the future.

I wish to emphasize before the Party active the earnestness and high responsibility of the Central Committee in analysing these questions. In doing so, the Central Committee is creditably fulfilling the mission entrusted by the Congress, that of ensuring leadership of the entire political and social activity in the interval between Congreses and the task outlined by the Ninth Congress of re-establishing the Leninist standards in our Party, the Party democracy, the socialist democracy, of liquidating for ever the abuses and illegalities, and of bringing the culprits to account.

We heard the report of the Party Commission and the accounts by many speakers at the Central Committee Plenary Meeting or speakers here. We can infer that that period saw the committing of many abuses, grave cases of repression of some Party and State officials, among which the Pătrășcanu case iș perhaps the most flagrant and most telling. But it is not the only one.

As was shown at the Plenary Meeting the Party Commission, assigned by the Executive Committee, studied — with the contribution of a large number of party functionaries — during two years and a half, files totalling over 50,000 pages, striving to unravel the threads of this monstrous frame-up — the Pătrășcanu case.

The Commission, formed of veteran Party members, examined the documents, had discussions with a large number of persons, both among those involved in the trial and also with those who undertook the investigation, reaching the conclusions you have learned.

For the way in which they have fulfilled the task entrusted to them, the Central Committee Plenary Meeting expressed thanks to the comrades on the commission, to all the activists who worked to re-establish truth. It is now beyond any doubt that the arrest and sentencing of Pătrășcanu have no justification whatsoever, that there was actually a foul frame-up, that Pătrășcanu is the victim of a dastard assassination.

Worthy of note is that this took place in 1954, when in other socialist countries, in the Soviet Union, a course was starting towards the disclosure of such illegalities and towards the rehabilitation of their victims. Therefore, it is even more ununderstandable why precisely at that time appeared this haste to judge him and execute him two days later, in a precipitated manner, by shooting him in the back.

Furthermore, the commission in analysing the accusations that were brought against Foriș, that he allegedly was an agent of the enemy, has found that he is innocent, that he was executed without legal grounds existing and even without trial — that, consequently, in this case too, in point of fact there was an assassination.

From the study of more cases and trials, including the Vasile Luca trial, the Danube—Black Sea canal trial and others, likewise, appears the groundlessness of many accusations and many sentences in those days. All these are acts which our Party reproves and condemns with utmost firmness. However, they are at the same time acts of drastic accusation and condemnation of those who initiated and committed them. They accuse and condemn Alexandru Drăghici as the organizer and executor of these criminal actions against the Party and State active, accuse and condemn Gheorghiu-Dej, who initiated and sponsored these actions.

We shall also have to establish the truth with regard to the sanctions against some Party and State activists who suffered during that period.

7 – THE RESPONSIBILITY OF FORMER LEADERS FOR THE PURGES

As it is already known, on the basis of the decisions of the Ninth Congress, the Central Committee has several times examined a number of mistakes, excesses and illegal actions committed in a certain period of the activity of our Party and of our socialist state and which cost the lives of some outstanding Party activists, among whom also that of Lucrețiu Pătrășcanu. A large number of activists were persecuted and expelled from the Party. Following a thorough-going analysis the April 1968 Plenum of the Central Committee adopted the decision to rehabilitate them, considering that the charges brought against them at that time had been false while some of them were provocatively fabricated. After the April Plenum, these problems were debated throughout the Party and it is not necessary now to dwell on them extensively. The Central Committee proposes that the Congress should confirm the decisions of the April 1968 Plenum and the measures adopted subsequently for the political and legal rehabilitation of those who had to suffer unjustly. In this way, we shall perform a great act of justice we shall restore the honour and the prestige both of the respective activists and of our Communist Party.

During the debates in 1968, some comrades raised the problem of the responsibility of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. There is no doubt that a large share of the responsibility for what happened devolves on Gheorghiu-Dej, all the more so as he dealt directly with certain cases. That is why now, when we analyze that state of things, we are entitled and obliged to criticize and blame the

negative aspects in the activity of Gheorghiu-Dej. In doing this, we do not want to diminish the activity and the merits of Gheorghiu-Dej to the Party and the people. It is common knowledge that both in the years of the undergound activity, in prison and more especially after Liberation, he played a frontranking rôle in the Party and in the State. For twenty years, as First Secretary of the Party Central Committee, Gheorghiu-Dej held an important place in the whole activity for building socialism; the Party and the people highly appreciate his work.

As I have already said, a survey of the twenty-five years which have elapsed since our Liberation is an impressive one; our country has reached a high stage of development. It would have been pleasant for all of us if the phenomena to which I referred had not taken place. But the facts did occur and now we can no longer change anything. Nevertheless, we are in duty bound to the Party and to the people, to take all measures in order to make it impossible for such states of affairs ever to be repeated, to ensure the unswerving observance in the future of the norms of Party democracy and of socialist lawfulness, so that nobody should be ever sentenced or punished without a justified reason in our society.

Economic Policy

5

1 – THE CENTRAL TASK OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Proceeding from the materialist outlook, according to which the decisive factor of social progress, of the flourishing of the national economy and of the raising of the living standard of the population is the sustained development of the productive forces, our Party has channelled all efforts along the country's socialist industrialization. Of course, the development of industry, the building of new aggregate works, industrial complexes, factories and power stations, their endowment with modern technics have required and continue to require sustained material efforts from the whole people, and the allocation of a big portion of the country's national income. Yet, without the fast development of a modern industry, the liquidation of the lag in our economy, the narrowing down of the gap between us and the developed countries are inconceivable. This truth is all the more valid in the conditions of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution and of the fast progress of present-day science and technics.

The result of the consistent implementation of the policy of industrialization is mirrored by the fact that in the years of socialist construction this decisive branch of the national economy has recorded a remarkable upsurge, between 1950 and 1966 the growth-rate of industrial output amounting, on the average, to more than 13 per cent. ***Industry has become the leading branch of economy, its share in the creation of the national income increasing from 30.8 per cent in 1938 to approximately 50 per cent at present.*** This is reflected in the whole economic and social life of the country, bringing about deepgoing changes in the general structure of

production, in the nature of exports, exerting a positive influence upon the living standards of the whole Romanian people. Substantial changes have taken place in the pattern of the Romanian industry, the central place being held by the basic branches of the heavy industry, on which depend the equipping of all sectors of the national economy and the ensurance of uninterrupted technical progress; the process of diversification of branches and subbranches has been accentuated; there has been a rise in the degree of processing raw materials, in the degree of turning to account the country's natural resources.

Deep-going transformations have been experienced by agriculture, by the Romanian countryside, wrested from their century-old immobility and set on the road of a dynamic development. The transition of small-scale peasant production, with its limited possibilities, to large-scale socialist production has marked a profound revolution in rural life, in the relations of production in agriculture, creating favourable conditions for the rapid progress of this vital branch of the national economy. The short period which has elapsed since the completion of cooperativization has evidenced the great potentialities and reserves of socialist agriculture. ***It should be underlined that in the process of socialist transformation, agriculture has constantly increased its plant and animal output, ensuring the necessary supplies of agricultural produce to the population, as well as the supplies for industry and for exports, thus contributing to the advance of the economy as a whole.***

Parallel with industry and agriculture, the other branches of the national economy have also developed, there has been an improvement in the territorial distribution of the productive forces, certain regions which had lagged behind in the past recording high rates of industrial development these last few years. Modifications have taken place in the structure of labour, the number of people employed in industry having increased at a rapid rate, with the total number of wage earners throughout the economy going up 3.3 times as against 1938. There has also been a growth

in the number of personnel with technical training; at present the national economy employs over 10.5 times more personnel possessing higher technical training than in 1938.

The fundamental aim and the main result of the programme of economic construction carried out by the Party and the State consist in the permanent enhancement of the working people's material and cultural well-being. The national income in 1966 was over 4.5 times bigger than in 1950, recording an average yearly increase of about 10 per cent, while real wages increased 2.4 times as against 1950. The incomes of the peasantry have also risen. In the course of 15 years, the State has spent about 200,000 million lei for social and cultural requirements; in 1966 this expenditure was almost sevenfold that of 1950. A vast programme of social and cultural constructions has been carried out; thousands of schools, cultural establishments, health protection units have been built; a particular upsurge has been experienced by housing construction in both town and the countryside.

2 – PROBLEMS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

In spite of the unquestionable successes we have attained in the industrialization of the country, industry keeps being behind the advanced countries. In the heavy industry itself, especially in the machine-building sector, there are disproportions which are getting ever more visible, creating difficulties in the development of the entire economy. So, in a number of branches of the machine-building industry, we are still largely turning out the rough part of equipments, while fine mechanics, electric installations, machine-tools and automation installations are largely ensured from imports. This situation is also reflected in the prices we get in the export of machine-tools per ton, as compared with

other countries. In 1964 we have got 420 pounds sterling per ton, while, as it is revealed by the international economic publications of the same year, Bulgaria got 500, France 968, the German Federal Republic 946 and Switzerland 1,724 pounds. This shows us the grea tasks we are still confronted with on the line of high-grade use of metal, the increase in the technical standard of the machine-building industry. Significant in the same context is the fact that at the exported electric machinery and equipment we obtained in 1965 per ton 5,468 lei foreign currency, while for the same equipment we are paying at importation 11,579 lei foreign currency.

The low level of development and of diversification of our machine building is the consequence of the long neglecting of important sectors of modern science and technology. You know that it is only this year that we have proceeded to the setting up of a number of research institutes meant to help the development of the key domains of modern industry: the Institute for Electronic Research, the Institute for Research and Designing for Automobiles and Tractors, the Research and Design Institute for Machine-Tools, the Research and Design Institute for Hoisting and Transporting Machines, the Shipbuilding Research and Design Institute, the Boiler Research and Design Centre and the Chemical Equipment Research and Design Centre. We must note that in other countries such institutes have been functioning for many years now.

After the Ninth Congress, when a more detailed analysis was made of the conditions in the above-mentioned sectors, we have drawn up special programmes of measures meant to ensure the liquidation of these lags.

With good reason, one may ask: why are we in such a stage? A first explanation is that we have started from a low development level, as compared with the more advanced countries. But this explanation is only partly valid today. We must not forget that we have covered 18 years of planned economy. We have always underlined that our economic policy is focused on the development

of heavy industry, especially of the machine-building industry. Facts show, however, that in spite of the achievements recorded, in practice we have not ensured the attainment of this objective in step with the requirements of contemporary technology. Therefore, it is necessary to apply ourselves to this matter with full attention.

In 1967, just as in the ensuing years, we shall have to make great efforts to do away with the existing lags in the iron-and-steel industry — especially as regards the output of special steels for which a special programme of measures has been elaborated during this year — and in machine building. Only thus shall we be able to secure the modernization of our economy, to bring it nearer to the economies of the advanced countries.

To this end, we shall have to achieve more than what we have set ourselves at Congress, to rally all our forces so that until 1970 we should create a lasting basis for the development of these branches. If we do not manage to achieve this during the Five-Year Plan, difficulties will arise in the ensuing years which will make themselves felt strongly in the development of society. We must not forget that all countries, both socialist and capitalist, are now making great efforts for the development and the modernization of industry, of the entire economy.

As you could note from the study of the Plan, we are devoting great attention to the proportional development of all branches of the national economy. In this context we shall have to pay increased attention in the coming years to the consumer goods industry. Even though higher rises are envisaged in the 1967 plan than those established by the Ninth Congress, the consumer goods industry will still continue remaining behind the working people's requirements. This is the reality. It is a consequence of the fact that due attention was not devoted in the past to the light and food industries.

Without doubt we have been right in concerning ourselves mainly with the heavy industry, but this priority should not

signify neglecting, underestimating the consumer goods production. We should not forget that, ultimately, the whole of the production activity of society is intended for man, for the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the population. A fairly large amount has been said about this ; we have to act firmly for the attainment of this essential desideratum of our Party's policy.

In the ensuing years we shall have to find supplementary resources and material means to secure a more marked development, higher than provided for under the Five-Year Plan, of the consumer goods industry. It is our duty to do our utmost for the satisfaction of the steadily growing, multilateral requirements of our entire people.

3 — JOINT ECONOMIC PROJECTS

We lay stress on the possibility of building economic projects in cooperation with other countries, provided they are owned and managed by our country. The building may be envisaged in Romania of industrial projects with a foreign partner delivering equipment and outfit on long-term credit, payable in products turned out by the respective enterprise or, possibly, in other goods. Cooperation may be carried out with foreign firms in the common delivery of equipment, installations and components to third markets, with the Romanian side acting either as main supplier or auxiliary supplier; cooperation in the production of machines, equipment and plant to meet the needs of both sides each of them producing certain units or sub-units; manufacture in Romania of units, devices and equipment on the basis of licence and documentation supplied by the foreign partner with the obligation of ensuring to the latter the respective necessities for a longer period. Feasible is also the building by the Socialist Republic of Romania of industrial projects or the supply of technical

assistance, licences and documentation to other countries, payable in products of the respective enterprises or in other commodities. The possibility also exists of cooperation with trade companies abroad for the sale of Romanian products, our participation in the creation of such trade companies included. We also think of technical-scientific cooperation, of participation in programmes of scientific research with other countries, on the basis of conventions ensuring the settlement of both sides' obligations.

More initiative and determination must be manifest in carrying out economic and technical-scientific cooperation with the socialist countries, as well as with capitalist countries and developing countries. The fact must be understood that the future high-rate development of our economy is directly linked to the expansion of international cooperation. A sure and long-range perspective of Romania's foreign economic relations must be secured, both as concerns export and the achievement of firm imports. In this way, ever better conditions will be created for the elaboration of long-term economic plans, for the general progress of our socialist society.

4 – THE DECENTRALISATION OF CONTROL OF FOREIGN TRADE

It must be stressed that excessive centralization of foreign trade has started to become a brake in the good unfolding of export and import. It is necessary that the role of the economic ministries and of the big enterprises should grow more both in export and import activity. They must have direct links with the main suppliers and foreign clients. The responsibility of the economic ministries in carrying on foreign trade must grow in step with the increased attributions given to them. The fulfilment of the export tasks must be a basic criterion in assessing the activity of producer enterprises and of economic ministries. Some

measures have been taken, as you know, in this respect, but it is necessary that we act with more determination; we must not be afraid of introducing new methods in foreign trade activity. We must find most elastic forms of organization, and must promote them with more courage and determination in order to develop Romania's foreign economic relations.

Decentralization of foreign trade activity must not and will not at all diminish the responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. On the contrary, its responsibility in achieving a unitary policy of foreign trade and in raising the economic efficiency of the latter will increase still more. The Ministry of Foreign Trade must carry on a more intense activity of broadening Romania's commercial relations with the countries of the world.

It is necessary that we proceed in the shortest possible time to the setting up of a special body for prospecting the foreign market, for studying the market conjuncture, the development prospects of world economy, the possibilities for the sale of products and the import of raw materials and auxiliary materials, for knowing the price fluctuation in the world market.

5 – ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Concurrently, as its economy develops, our country extends its multilateral exchanges with other States having different social systems. In the last few years, Romania's economic relationships, trade exchanges, scientific and cultural cooperation with the West European countries, as well as with countries on the other continents have extended and intensified in the interests of all sides, of the cause of progress and peace the world over. ***Our country steadily promotes, relations of friendly cooperation with the developing countries, supports their efforts directed to the defence of national independence, to the independent development on the road to economic***

and social progress — against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Taking into account the role and the ever greater importance of economic and technical-scientific cooperation in the conditions of the continually deepening international division of labour and of the present-day technical-scientific revolution, in the course of this year, the Central Committee of the Party has established principles which are to underlie the extension of Romania's cooperation and collaboration with other countries. *Within the international economic and technical-scientific cooperation, our country furthers varied forms, among which the joint building of economic projects, cooperation in production and sales, technical-scientific collaboration with respect to themes and objectives of common interest as well as in other fields.*

It is in this spirit that Romania has addressed proposals for cooperation to the socialist States, proposals which are the subject of bilateral dicussions; concurrently, negotiations with other countries are under way with a view to concluding agreements of cooperation in various fields. The progress of the negotiations with various countries evince ever more strikingly the great possibilities which exist in this respect, justifies our preoccupations in developing international cooperation.

International collaboration and cooperation must serve the interests of all sides, must contribute to the creation of a greater stability in economic relations, must permit the accentuation of specialization in production and sales, and facilitate economic planning for the future. The long-term economic agreements have a specially important role in this respect. Our country has such agreements with socialist countries and with a number of other countries; they constitute a lasting foundation for the mutually advantageous development of commercial exchanges in the future. The Party and State leadership consider it necessary that our economic bodies should pay attention in the future as well to extending the practice of long-term agreements with other countries. They must study with a spirit of responsibility all the existing

possibilities so as to ensure the rigorous observance of the mutual pledges assumed by the sides under these agreements. This is all the more necessary as sometimes in practice the provisions of the long-term agreements are not fully observed, diminishing thus the importance of these agreements and causing damages to one or another of the partners. The annual revision of the agreements and especially the renunciation by one side or another of some commitments negatively bear upon economic collaboration and cooperation and upon long-term economic planning. It goes without saying that in such cases the very validity of the long-term agreements is called in question, and the impression is created moreover that their observance depends on temporary conditions. It is necessary that in inter-state relations, the existence of differences of views on one problem or another should not influence economic collaboration and cooperation, as these should effectively be founded on economic principles and criteria.

The improvement of the forms of international cooperation is a sustained and fully justified preoccupation in many countries. For the attainment of these desiderata it is necessary, however, ***that desires should not be taken for realities, that any attempt of introducing forms that do not correspond to the actualstage of economic and social-political development be avoided.*** Life proves that for a long time to come cooperation among States will have to be based on the principle of independent development of each national economy and that any form that leads to the violation of this principle is not or cannot be viable.

The independent development of each national economy does not lead to isolation but on the contrary to the flourishing of each free and sovereign country, it permits the steady extension of economic collaboration and cooperation among countries. The unfading efforts for the material and spiritual advancement of the people, for the flourishing of the socialist system can in no case be interpreted

as a position of nationalistic seclusion, as ignoring the interests of the general cause of socialism. On the contrary, the stronger and more flourishing each socialist country becomes, the better each Communist Party solves the problems of building the new system, the stronger does the whole world socialist system become, the more lasting is international solidarity and the keener the influence of socialism in the world.

6 – ATTITUDE TO COMECON

In the particularly complex process of crystallization of the new international relations — relations between sovereign socialist States, with equal rights, linked by the community of system and goals — shortcomings have also been manifest, inadequate forms and methods have sometimes been used; obviously, their elimination cannot but lead to the strengthening of the comradely friendship and alliance, to a broader and more fruitful cooperation among the socialist countries. This cooperation has to be organized in such a way as to help the progress of each national economy, the independent development and multilateral blossoming of each socialist country, as a major condition for the consolidation of the forces of socialism throughout the world. Therefore, the good progress of this cooperation demands that no form and method should be admitted that would run counter to the established norms of relations between the socialist countries, since these would harm the national interests of different countries, their mutual cooperation, the general interests of socialism.

In this spirit, our country promotes broad cooperation with all socialist countries, participates in the activity of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance — being one of its founding members—, stands for the perfecting of this body's system of functioning, so that it should contribute to a better turning to good

account of the material and human resources of each member-country. We have appreciated and continue to appreciate that there are broad, unexplored possibilities for deepening cooperation between the socialist countries — in industry, agriculture, science, technique, and other fields of activity — for the improvement of cooperation between our States.

The improvement of CMEA activity is a question of high responsibility which can be solved by the consensus of all the member-countries. We hold that in the process of improving the methods and forms of cooperation one must proceed from the principles underlying the relations between the socialist countries and the statute of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance which offers — for a long space of time — conditions and premises for the development of a fruitful cooperation. In this context, we wish to stress again that the opinions and theses advocating the turning of CMEA into a super-State body, transition to a single plan and other similar proposals, do not correspond to the conditions of the present stage of development, to the requirements of the progress of each national economy and of cooperation among our countries. Their adoption would generate difficulties and deepen a series of differences of views. Therefore, we stand for firm action in implementing the CMEA principles and statute.

Cooperation within CMEA must be conducive to an enhanced technical level of production, must contribute to meeting to a higher degree the requirements of each socialist member-country. Therefore, we think it justified that efforts be made for better organizing the relations between the economic organizations of these countries, for ensuring that delivery in keeping with reciprocal orders be effected in due time and in conditions of adequate quality. Any delay, just as non-observance of other contract obligations harm both economic activity in the socialist countries and good relations among them. That is why we hold it necessary to ensure such relations of economic cooperation

that should lead to the strengthening of the unity of our countries, that should in no way be affected even if different points of view would arise on one or another problem.

Really useful would be a broadened framework of cooperation within CMEA, by ensuring the necessary conditions for the participation in its activity, of other socialist countries, of other States, as stipulated by the CMEA statute.

As far as we are concerned, we are determined to make henceforth too every effort for the development of the relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries — members or not of CMEA — for perfecting the forms and methods of cooperation with these countries, based on the established norms of relationship between the socialist states. At the same time, Romania will further act, in the framework of the international division of labour, for expanding cooperation with all countries, regardless of their social-economic system, convinced as she is that this complies with the necessities of progress in the world today, contributes to the intensification of a mutually advantageous exchange of material assets, to rapprochement among peoples, and the improvement of the international climate.

Romania and International Affairs

6

1 – THE FOUNDATIONS OF ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY

As an active factor in the world arena, Romania promotes a peaceful foreign policy and carries out a consistent activity to lessen international tension, to develop cooperation among the nations and consolidate world peace.

In keeping with the fundamental interests of the Romanian people and of the cause of peace and socialism, our country centres her foreign policy on close friendship and fraternal alliance with the socialist countries. In the last few years Romania's relations of friendship and cooperation with all the countries of the world socialist system have continued to expand manysidedly; mutual visits have taken place of Party and government delegations with representatives from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Polish People's Republic, the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Albania, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Republic of Cuba. These visits have occasioned the discussion, in a comradely spirit, of various problems of mutual interest and have contributed to the strengthening of the friendship and cooperation between our peoples.

Our country considers it an internationalist duty of hers continuously to develop the fraternal relations with all the socialist countries, making her active contribution to the unity and cohesion of the world socialist system.

Acting in the spirit of peaceful coexistence, Romania stands for the establishment of relations of cooperation with all countries, irrespective of their social-political system. We consider that every nation has something to offer and stands to profit in the circulation of material and spiritual assets created by the peoples.

The last few years have witnessed the development and improvement of relations, especially economic, between Romania and a number of West-European countries; thus old traditional links have been resumed. We note with satisfaction that in recent years relations have been expanded and links have been established with new states in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

We appreciate the positive evolution of the relations between our country and Greece* in the spirit of the friendship which has always existed between our peoples. We wish our relations with Turkey to follow a similar path. The development of good-neighbourly and friendly relations between all the Balkan States corresponds to the common interests of our countries, cooperation in this geographical area and the consolidation of peace.

Our country will go on expanding her economic, technical-scientific and cultural relations with all states, considering that the multilateral exchanges on the basis of mutual advantages without any political conditions, without restrictions and discriminations, help to ease international tension, to bring the peoples closer together, and play a significant part in strengthening the peace.

The international policy of our country is based on the solid and permanent foundation of the principles of sovereignty and national independence, equal rights, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. Romania campaigns for the consistent promotion of these principles in the international arena, considering their observance as an essential condition of the development of cooperation between states, the increase of confidence

* This was before the Greek military coup of April 1967. For attitude to the coup, see "Attitude to States with different social systems p188."(Ed.)

national tension, our country attaches great importance to the strengthening of her defence capacity. In the future too, the Party and the government will show the greatest concern for equipping and training our Armed Forces so that, alongside the armed forces of the other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty and of all the socialist countries, they should be ready at any time to carry out their sacred mission of defending the revolutionary gains of the people, the independence of the Homeland, the cause of socialism and peace.

Our people regard the future with the confidence that the joint struggle of the peoples and the common action of all the forces of peace will ensure the triumph of the cause of peace which serves the fundamental interests of all mankind. Romania will constantly and stintlessly strive for the victory of this grand cause!

2 – THE ROLE OF SMALL STATES IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

One of the features of our era is greater and greater participation of the small and middle-sized countries in the settlement of international issues. The concept according to which mankind's destiny lies solely in the hands of the big powers does no longer correspond to the new conditions of social development. ***Reality demonstrates that the settlement of international disputes can no longer be decided only by the big powers, as this depends nowadays on the active cooperation of all the States of the world***. Of course, owing to their potential and influence, the big powers have a great responsibility for the fate of peace, they can make an essential contribution to the averting of a new war and to the ensuring of peace, the strengthening of international security. Their positive role in world progress is directly proportional to the responsibility they evince in defence of the standards of international justice, in the promotion of equal rights between States, of the principles of

between the peoples, and of respect for the inalienable right of every people to decide their own destiny.

Participating in the work of the United Nations Organization, Romania has consistently declared herself in favour of improving the activity of this international body so that it may reflect the developments in the contemporary world. We consistently declare ourselves for the universality of UNO, for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, a great world power and the only state entitled to represent the Chinese people.

Our country militates for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament, for the creation of nuclear-free zones, an unconditional ban on nuclear weapons and the total destruction of the existing stocks of such weapons. Life has confirmed that the division of the world into military blocs aggravates international tension, fosters distrust between states, the existence of the aggressive NATO, SEATO and CENTO pacts being conducive to and favouring tendencies of domination on the part of imperialist states over other states. Our country takes a resolute stand for the abolition of all military blocs.

Foreign military bases and troops stationed on the territory of other states exert a negative influence on international relations. Engaging ever more directly in the fight against the democratic movements everywhere, the USA has come to have nearly half of its armed forces in various parts of the world. In the interests of strengthening peace and abolishing all forms of interference in the internal affairs of the peoples Romania stands for the liquidation of military bases and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of other States.

Removing the remnants of the second world war through the conclusion of the German peace treaty, and starting with the recognition of the historical fact of the existence of the two German states, would go a long way towards improving the international atmosphere.

Militating in defence of peace and for the reduction of inter-

the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and of non-interference in internal affairs. Worthy of note is also the fact that disregard or underestimation of the contribution the small and middle-sized States can make to international life renders difficult the settlement of present-day issues, and harms peace and cooperation among peoples. Nowadays, a growing number of middle-sized and small States are firmly and perseveringly stepping in the world political arena, refuse to play any longer the part of pawn at the service of the interests of the big imperialist powers, rise against any form of domination and promote an independent policy. ***By acting with vigour and militancy in defence of their legitimate interests and rights, the middle-sized and small countries can play an outstanding part in international life, can considerably influence the course of events, contributing towards the safeguarding of world peace and security.*** One may say that in our days each State, each nation, big or small, bears responsibility for the fate of peace, is in duty bound to make its active contribution towards the preventing of a new war, to international détente, to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation among peoples.

3 – ATTITUDE TO THE UNITED NATIONS

Our country participates confidently and with interest in the activity of the United Nations and of its specialized bodies, convinced as it is that a remarkable role devolves on them in supporting the peoples' efforts for progress and prosperity, in the noble work of strengthening cooperation among nations, of building a world of peace and understanding among States.

Romania — a socialist country engaged in a vast process of economic and social construction, which ensures the Romanian people's development on the road of material and spiritual civilization, the many-sided flourishing of human personality — ex-

presses in her foreign policy actions full and constant endorsement of the ideas of expanding cooperation among nations, actively cooperates in the exploration of all efficient means and ways of cooperation and understanding between States. Devoted to the spirit of and the principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations, our country is determined to continue to work with utmost firmness for the implementation of the ideals of peace, friendship and understanding among peoples, to make its full contribution to the solving of the political, economic and social problems facing today the international community.

Relations with Communist Parties Abroad and Other Communist Countries

7

1 – RELATIONS WITHIN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

As you know, comrades, during the recent period in the international communist movement there has been an intensification of attacks by some Parties against other ones, the divergencies and the danger of increasing the splitting have aggravated. This fact arouses deep alarm in us, just as in other Parties. The causes that have led to the present situation in the working-class movement are complex and it is not the time today to discuss them. Certainly there are many differences in appreciating the phenomena of the contemporary epoch, but, in our opinion, essential is the fact that the old practices of imposing points of view from the outside, of interfering in the internal affairs of other Parties has not yet been renounced. That is why instead of a principled analysis, of a calm approach of the differences of views on the problems of contemporary development, there have been insinuations, exerting of pressure and accusations of all kinds, repetition of known tendencies of condemnation of some by others. The most profound interests of the international working class call for a complete renunciation of such practices, for efforts on the line of seeking ways of unity, of applying in the relations between all the fraternal countries and Parties the standards based on respect for the principles of independence, of equal rights and mutual respect, of non-interference in domestic affairs, of socialist internationalism. What unites the Communist Parties, the socialist countries, is, in our opinion, fundamental and prevails over the divergencies and differences of views, over what is now dividing the working-class movement. Every step directed towards

the strengthening of the unity between the socialist countries, between the fraternal Parties, is welcome.

It is known that one of the characteristics of the revolutionary struggle in our time is the tremendous diversity of specific conditions and situations in which the Communist Parties must carry on their activity. The Communist Parties in the socialist countries are in power, lead the work for the revolutionary transformation of society, are responsible for the elaboration and implementation of the State policy. Even these Parties work in different conditions, have different tasks in keeping with both the economic and social development level and the stage reached in socialist construction. It is no secret for anybody that there are socialist countries for example where cooperativization has not been achieved. Quite different tasks confront the Parties in the countries where cooperativization has been completed. The Parties in the capitalist world are in the opposition, and fight for democratic rights and liberties, for winning power from the hands of the exploiting classes. The Communist Parties and the progressive movements in the recently liberated countries militate for the consolidation of national sovereignty, against neo-colonialism, for doing away with economic backwardness and for progressive transformations in society. At the same time all the communists are faced with numerous special problems, generated by the differences existing from one country to the other. The interests of international solidarity demand that account be taken of these differences, an outcome of the very development of contemporary society, and which lead to differentiated approaches to the concrete tasks, to varied modes of action in a certain circumstance, to different interpretations of some current events. That is why the way in which each Party establishes its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics cannot be an object of dispute, must not become a reason for misunderstandings. In the cooperation between the Communist Parties of the socialist countries and those in the capitalist countries account must be taken of the

specific conditions in which each of them carries on its activity, finding the most suitable ways for the assertion and development of international solidarity, without subordinating the political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics of one to another, without some of them assuming special rights of imposing their points of view on others.

In our opinion, an important reason of the divergencies in the communist movement is the transgression of the basic norms of the relations among parties, which must be built on mutual confidence and esteem, on the principles of fully equal rights and proletarian internationalism, on the observance of each Party's right to independently establish its political line, applying the general truths of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of the country in which it carries on its activity. The strict observance of these principles is today, in our opinion, the ***sine qua non*** condition for remaking and strengthening the unity of the communist movement. We consider fully justified the anxiety that is being felt in the communist movement because of the tendencies that are manifest more and more pregnantly lately, that of labelling some Parties, classifying some as rightist, others as leftist, proclaiming some of them nationalist and others internationalist. It is discussed that there could be a national communism, an international communism, or different other types of socialism. Yet it is known that socialism cannot be but one, and it is characterized by the socialization of the means of production and by the achievement of a society in which both the political power and the means of production belong to the working class, to the people. This is the essential condition, decisive criterion, on the basis of which it can be assessed whether a country is socialist or not and not any other considerations invented at the desk, divorced from life and from reality. It is known, comrades, how much harm was done by the old methods used in the communist movement, which the Parties combated at the time — methods of interfering in the affairs of another

Party, of labelling or excommunicating one Party or another because in a certain problem it has its own, different opinion. Our Party considers that the interests of the unity, and the solidarity of the international working class demand the resolute removal of these practices, that cannot but aggravate the divergencies between the communist and workers' parties. Let everything be done for unity. Any interference in the domestic affairs of another Party, any act of supporting groups or isolated members of other parties, are not only of no help to the respective Party, but on the contrary, lead to weakening its unity and consequently are incompatible with the internationalist relations among Parties. In these conditions, each Party has the right and duty to take every measure it deems necessary to defend its unity and cohesion, to strengthen its fighting capacity.

The unity of the communist and working-class movements is founded on the unity of each Communist Party — therefore one of the conditions of international solidarity is the concern for each detachment of the working class to be as powerful and united as possible, in order to be able to successfully fulfil its role both in the domestic political struggle and the international communist movement. This is one of the fundamental demands of the development of the unity and international solidarity of the communists, of the working people.

2 — THE SINO-SOVIET SPLIT AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST RELATIONS

As was shown also by the representatives of other parties, for several years serious divergencies exist between the socialist countries, elements of tension have appeared affecting their relations of cooperation and the unity of the world socialist system. The representatives of those parties who raised here the problem of a thorough-going analysis of the causes of these divergencies

are right, because it is only thus that the means can be found for their removal, for the strengthening of collaboration and unity between the socialist countries.

In our view we must start from the historically different development conditions in which the socialist countries are carrying out their activities. This leads to the appearance of variants in the assessment of certain phenomena, in the practical construction of the socialist system. But the fact that these different points of view and assessments are becoming divergencies and lead to tension, affecting mutual relations are especially due to subjective factors, to the lack of understanding for the diversity of conditions in development, to the disregard of the norms of relations between the socialist countries.

Of course, one has to take into account that the relations between the socialist countries have so far no precedent in the development of the world, that they are an entirely new phenomenon in international life, a unique experience in the history of human society. In the development of these relations a number of shortcomings and anomalies can appear, which in our opinion, have a transient and remediable character. Such phenomena can and must disappear in the process of the continuous improvement of the internationalist cooperation between the peoples building the new system.

Already several years ago our Party became worried by the sharpening of the public polemics and the aggravation of the divergencies between the communist and workers' parties, especially between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party. We expressed our view that the policy of no communist party should be blamed or condemned, neither at the congresses of other parties, nor at international meetings and reunions. In the spring of 1964 the Romanian Communist Party called both on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party not to extend and sharpen the polemics, to act in such a way as to find means of solving

diverging problems. Unfortunately, things have developed in such a way that a stage has been reached which we all know.

Comrades, this is obviously not the time and place to analyse the causes of this state of things, nor is it included on the agenda of our Conference; we did not intend to deal with them, if they had not been raised in the discussion. Our delegation wishes to emphasize that the Romanian Communist Party and our people are highly worried by the fact that conflicts and border clashes have occured in the relations between the two big socialist countries.

At the same time we note with satisfaction that the declaration of the Government of the Soviet Union proposes the solution of these problems by negotiations, and also that in her reply the Chinese People's Republic declares herself in favour of discussions. We believe that it is only on this road, of discussions and negotiations that all problems of any kind can and should be solved between socialist countries; any other way cannot but cause prejudice to the socialist world system, to our communist movement and to the influence of socialism in the world.

In this context, our Party believes that the blame and condemnation of the Chinese Communist Party voiced at this Conference, like condemnations of any other party in general, are not likely to create a climate favouring the settlement of divergencies and litigious problems.

As I have already declared in public and as I have told the Chinese comrades, we do not agree with the accusations made by them against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, against other communist parties. At the same time, we have told the Soviet comrades and comrades of other fraternal parties that neither do we agree with their accusations of the Chinese Communist Party.

Whilst listening to some speeches at the Conference, we remembered that in the history of the communist movement there

have been cases in the past when serious accusations, which later proved to be unfounded, had been made against some communist and workers' parties, including those of socialist countries. We all know what extremely serious consequences such practices and methods had for the working-class movement and for the cause of socialism. Drawing all the conclusions from the mistakes made in the past, when the Romanian Communist Party participated in such campaigns, we here declare that we are firmly resolved not to repeat such mistakes and in no case to follow the road of accusing and condemning other communist and workers' parties. Accusations, blame, labellings and invectives — by whomsoever — can only lead to the sharpening of the tension and the deepening of disagreements; they are not of a nature to create conditions for the settlement of divergent problems, for the development of collaboration and unity among our parties. And calls in any shape or form by anybody from the outside for the replacement of the leading bodies of a communist or workers' party could contribute even less to the normal relations between the parties.

We are deeply convinced that the only way of creating conditions for the normalization of relations between the communist and workers' parties are comradely discussions, the tackling of different viewpoints and of divergencies from the positions of Marxism-Leninism, proceeding from the interests of one's own people, of the working class, of the international communist movement and of the cause of socialism in the world. In this spirit we believe that our Conference must lead not to the deepening of the divergencies, but contribute to smoothing the paths for their attenuation and elimination. It is only thus that we shall respond to the hopes of the communists throughout the world, to the hopes of the working class and of all anti-imperialist forces.

Our delegation is empowered to again call upon all communist and workers' parties, whether they participate in the Confe-

rence or not, that we should endeavour, beyond existing dissensions and disagreements, to find the paths for union in the fight against imperialism and for our common cause, the cause of socialism and communism. This is a vital requirement of the present anti-imperialist struggle, the main internationalist duty at the present time.

3 — THE CASE AGAINST A NEW INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CO-ORDINATING CENTRE

Life has shown that the normal development of the communist movement, the assertion of each Communist Party as a vanguard political force of the working class, of its people, are incompatible with the existence of an international coordinating centre, with the practice of setting compulsory norms of conduct for the communist parties, norms which owing to the force of circumstances cannot take account of the concrete conditions under which they are carrying on their activity, of the tasks and targets specific to each Party. As far back as almost a century ago Engels said in referring to the history of the "League of Communists": "The international movement of the European and American proletariat has grown so strong by now that not only its first, narrow form — the Secret League — but even its second, infinitely more comprehensive form — the International Workingmen's Association, a legal association — have become a chain for it; the mere feeling of solidarity, based on understanding of their identical class condition, is sufficient for uniting the workers in all lands..."[1] Furthermore, in 1943, the decision on the dissolution of the Third International proceeded from realistic recogni-

[1] Karl Marx — Friedrich Engels, *Opere* [Works], vol. 21, Bucharest, (Romanian Edition), Publishing House for Political Literature, 1965, p. 224

tion of the fact that owing to the profound differences in the historical roads of development of the various countries, in the nature of their social system, in the rate and level of their political, economic and social development, the existence of an international leading centre was raising unsurmountable obstacles in the activity of the Communist Parties. During the years that have elapsed since this decision, studying the complex social realities within which they have been carrying on their activity, mobilizing the working class, the broad mass of the people to fight against exploitation and oppression, for socialism, democracy and peace, the communist and workers' parties have tempered and matured politically, have strengthened their organizational force and are fulfilling better and better the lofty mission entrusted to them by history.

In the discussions with the representatives of a number of fraternal parties, the problem has been raised whether it is admissible or not to a Party member to establish without approval and over the head of the leadership relations with the representatives of another Party, whom he would inform on the activity in the ranks of the Party to which he belongs, to participate in actions against the political line of his own Party. The answer to this can be but one: it is inadmissible under any form for a Party member to establish or to maintain over the head of the leadership relations with other parties, to supply information and to participate in actions against the political line of his own Party. In the light of the ideological and organizational principles of the new-type Party, such acts are incompatible with the Rules provisions a communist must observe, with the quality of Party member.

Proletarian internationalism requires that principled relations of cooperation and mutual assistance exist between the communist and workers' parties. These relations must unfold in an organized framework, from Party to Party, from leadership to leadership. Attempt by a Party to establish relations with members or groups

of another Party outside the organized framework means an encroachment upon the principle of proletarian internationalism, an action of splitting the unity of that party. Any support given by a Party, regardless of the reasons put forward, to members or groups of another Party, signifies an interference in the latter's internal affairs, a disregard of the norms that must govern the relations between the communist parties, leads to weakening the unity of the Party, entails serious consequences to the class struggle it is waging, and in the socialist countries to the work of building socialism. Under such circumstances, each Party is fully entitled to take every measure it considers necessary so as to ensure its political and organizational unity, the implementation of its political line.

4 — ATTITUDE TOWARDS COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR SOCIAL SYSTEMS

As you know, friendship and alliance with all the socialist countries is the central element of the foreign policy of Romania. The fraternal solidarity with the socialist countries is based on the common social system we are building, on our common goals and aspirations, on the common interests of the struggle against imperialism and reaction — defence of the revolutionary gains of our peoples, the triumph of socialism and peace in the world.

Proceeding from the idea that the development of friendly relations with the socialist countries accords both with the interests of our own people and with those of the other peoples, and represents an important factor for strengthening the might of the world socialist system and enhancing its influence in the world, our country is developing economic, political, cultural and scientific relations with all the socialist countries.

Convinced as they are that what unites the socialist countries is

President Nicolae Ceausescu meeting Alexei Kosygin

President Ceausescu meets Mao-Tse-Tu

Incomparably more important than the differences of views between them, the Central Committee of the Party and the Government are permanently paying attention to developing direct contacts with the Party and State leaderships in all socialist countries. During the period that has elapsed since the Ninth Congress, there have been mutual visits by Party and State delegations, by social workers, by representatives of economic organizations, by scientists and men of culture. All these have been opportunities for exchanges of views and of experience in various fields of socialist construction, in problems of common interest, of the international life and communist movement. The meetings and talks with the Party and State leaders of the socialist countries have spotlighted fresh possibilities for intensifying political, economic, cultural and scientific cooperation between our countries, have contributed towards strengthening our comradely friendship and solidarity, have contributed to the cause of socialism, peace and international progress.

The relations of fraternal friendship, solidarity and cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union, traditional relations deeply rooted in history, have acquired a new content in our socialist system and are witnessing a steady development. Celebrating this year, alongside the entire progressive mankind, the 50th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution which has ushered in the era of proletarian revolutions, the Romanian people is expressing, on this occasion too, its feelings of friendship and esteem for the Soviet people and the Communist Party created by Lenin, the founder of the first socialist state in the world. The Romanian people highly assesses the decisive contribution and heavy sacrifices made by the Soviet people in the Second World War for defeating fascism. The joint fight of the Romanian and Soviet soldiers, the blood shed in common in the war against Hitlerism have cemented still stronger the Romanian-Soviet friendship. At present, there is an ample cooperation between our countries in the political, economic, scientific, technical

and cultural fields as well as in the exchange of experience in various sections of socialist and communist construction. The scope of economic relations between Romania and the U.S.S.R. is illustrated by the fact that they account for more than a third of our whole foreign trade. Our Party and Government hold the view that all possibilities are at hand so that, based on the many-sided development of both countries, mutually advantageous cooperation intensifies, the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation strengthen between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the benefit of our two peoples, of the general cause of socialism and peace.

With the fraternal Bulgarian people, too, we have old links of friendship, of good neighbourhood, of joint struggle for the aims of national and social liberation. Living near to each other, enduring in the past the same yoke of foreign oppression, animated by the selfsame aspirations for independence, for asserting their national identity, the two peoples have been linked together in the course of time by powerful feelings of sympathy and solidarity. During the years of socialism, the relations between Romania and Bulgaria, between our Parties have expanded and flourished to mutual benefit. An expression of the broad prospects of Romanian-Bulgarian cooperation is the building in common of the Islaz-Samovit hydropower station which will allow for using the Danube's power potential to the advantage of both our countries. The economic and social progress of both countries provides new possibilities for intensifying bilateral cooperation in all spheres of social life, for the steady flourishing of the traditional Romanian-Bulgarian friendship.

Living as good neighbours in the course of centuries, inspirited by the selfsame aspirations for national and social liberty, fighting for independence against common enemies, the Romanian and Yugoslav peoples helped each other fraternally, esteemed and

respected each other. Today, Romania's relations with Yugoslavia are based on the community of social system, on joint endeavours for building up the socialist society, on the growing possibilities provided by the many-sided progress of our countries. A token of Romanian-Yugoslav friendship and cooperation is the Iron Gates hydropower project which is being successfully built by the joint effort of the two countries. We express our conviction that the political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific relations between Romania and Yugoslavia will witness a steady expansion, that the fraternal links between our Parties, States and peoples will develop and strengthen.

A lasting friendship has developed between our country and the Hungarian People's Republic. The fraternal relations between our peoples are based on the common aspirations and strivings for a better life, for socialism and peace. History has shown that the advanced forces of the Romanian and Magyar peoples always rose against the policy of sowing discord fostered by the ruling classes and the big powers — especially the Hapsburg Empire and Hitler Germany — that they militated for a close Romanian-Hungarian friendship, fought side by side for national and social liberation. The revolutionary changes come about in our countries, the triumph of socialism have done away for ever with the past animosities, have created a lasting basis for the continuous development of relations of mutual esteem and understanding, of good neighbourhood and fraternal friendship between the two peoples. The Romanian people, the Party and Government will in the future, too, act for intensifying political, economic, social, scientific and cultural cooperation between the two countries and Parties, for the steady strengthening of Romanian-Hungarian friendship.

Our country has many-sided friendly relations with Czechoslovakia, and fruitful cooperation in all fields of activity is going on between the two peoples. The fraternal relations between our Parties and peoples are founded on long-standing traditions of solidarity, on the joint struggle for socialism. All conditions exist

for the ceaseless development of exchanges in the economic, cultural, technical, scientific and other fields, to the advantage of both our peoples.

Our fraternal relations with the Polish People's Republic are steadily developing, both politically and economically, and in the field of science and culture. The Romanian-Polish friendship has long-standing traditions of solidarity and fraternal assistance in the fight for national and social liberation, for the cause of socialism. Undoubtedly, as our countries are advancing on the road of economic and social progress, multilateral cooperation between the two countries and Parties will intensify more and more, in the interest of both peoples.

There is a positive course of Romania's fraternal relations on the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural plane with the German Democratic Republic — the first socialist German State — to which we are linked by the community of fundamental aims and aspirations, by the fight for the cause of peace and socialism in the world. We are confident that the growing economic potentialities of our countries provide conditions for the steady development of mutually advantageous economic exchanges and cooperation, that the relations between our Parties will steadily develop. In the international sphere, we support the struggle for the recognition of the German Democratic Republic as a free and independent State, for its unhampered participation in international political life, in the efforts for peace and social progress.

Romania develops relations of fraternal cooperation with the People's Republic of Albania in the political, economic and cultural fields. These relations have long-standing traditions in the history of our peoples. Expansion of the multilateral cooperation between the Romanian and Albanian peoples, between our Parties and States serves the interests of socialist construction, the material and spiritual thriving of the two countries.

The relations of fraternal cooperation between Romania and the People's Republic of China are witnessing a continuous de-

velopment. Our people nurture feelings of esteem and profound respect for the Chinese people, for the heroic struggle waged under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party for the defeat of imperialist domination, for the overthrow of the old régime and the establishment of the people's power, for the building of socialist society. In spite of the fact that our countries are lying at a great geographic distance from each other, there are relations of cooperation in all fields of activity between the Romanian people and the Chinese people. The economic, political, cultural, technical and scientific relations between the two countries are expanding, the comradely relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party are developing. The Party and Government consider that the many-sided development of Romanian-Chinese friendship and cooperation in step with the economic and cultural progress achieved by our countries, accords with the interest of both countries, with the cause of socialism and world peace.

There are many-sided relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Romanian people displays its internationalist solidarity with the fraternal Vietnamese people, so hardly tried in the aggressive war imposed by the United States of America, grants full material, political and diplomatic assistance to it, is wholeheartedly by its side in the heroic struggle it is waging in defence of the Homeland's freedom and independence, against the imperialist aggressors, for strengthening its defence capacity, for the progress of socialist construction. We express our conviction that the relations between our countries, Parties and peoples will steadily develop.

There is a fruitful development of our fraternal relations with the Korean Democratic People's Republic, on the economic as well as on the political and cultural planes. The Romanian people and the Korean people are linked by sincere friendship, by feelings of mutual esteem, respect and solidarity in the fight for build-

ing socialism. We are convinced that the steady progress of socialist construction in the two countries will be accompanied by the growing development of links between our Parties, peoples and countries.

Our country has fraternal relations of many-sided economic, political and cultural cooperation with the Mongolian People's Republic. These relations are based on the community of social system, on the common ideals of fight for peace and social progress. We are convinced that the relations of cooperation between the two countries, Parties and peoples will intensify.

The Romanian people displays fraternal solidarity with Cuba, the first socialist country on the American continent, which in spite of the hard conditions of its fight, successfully advances along the road of building up the socialist society. Between our two countries and Parties there are broad possibilities for steadily developing the comradely links of multilateral cooperation, of mutual assistance in building up the new socialist life.

I have extensively dwelt on the progress of the relations of our country with the socialist countries, because these relations hold an essential place in the foreign policy of our Party and Government, in the entire international activity of Romania.

It is well known that the internationalist relations between countries emerged for the first time in history with the advent of the socialist system, that they have no antecedents in the previous history of mankind. That is why they witness a natural process of steady improvement, of adaptation to the development conditions and requirements of all socialist countries. There is no doubt that in step with economic and social progress, with the thriving of each socialist nation, these relations will acquire growing scope and an ever richer content, the fundamental principles on which they are based will crystallize and assert themselves ever more strongly in practice, contributing more and more to the increase of the might and cohesion of our whole system. Thus, contrary to the relationships imposed by imperialism, based on domination

and oppression, the new-type, internationalist relations provide the peoples with a model of equitable coexistence between nations, exerting an increasingly strong influence on international life.

The historic importance and power of influence of the relations between the socialist countries reside in the fact that they are based on the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, equal rights, mutual advantage and reciprocal comradely assistance, of observance of national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. We hold that for strengthening the unity of action of the socialist countries it is necessary to extend the practice of consulting on matters of mutual interest, as well as on general questions of interest to these countries. Based on respect for the views of all sides, the consultations are an efficient means of co-ordinating efforts in the fight against imperialism and reaction, for socialism and peace. Important for the development of fraternal friendship and cooperation between the socialist countries is also a comprehensive and objective information of public opinion on the results of socialist construction recorded by each country, on the domestic and international political activities of each Party and socialist State. Our Party and Government hold the view that observance of these principles and standards in the relationships between the socialist countries is essential for the development of cooperation and friendship between them, for getting over any difficulties, for consolidating the cohesion of the world socialist system.

Under the conditions of the existence of a number of socialist countries, of the great diversity of their historical, economic and social development, the variety of forms, solutions and methods used in the work for building up the new society is an objective necessity of the material and spiritual progress of each country, of the victorious advance of socialism within the whole system. The creative, original manner in which each socialist country is solving the problems related to economic and social development is an important factor of progress, a contribution to enriching the general experience

and practice of socialist construction, a contribution to the growth of the common treasure store of contemporary revolutionary thinking.

Of course, in the complex process of social development differences of views may crop up, as well as differing assessments in connection with some problems of the relationships between the socialist countries, of the world revolutionary process, of international life. ***Our Party and Government hold that such differences of views must prevent in no way the development of friendly relations, of esteem and good understanding between the socialist countries.*** It is extremely important that the differences of views between the socialist countries should not affect their cooperation in the economic and other domains of activity, since this would be prejudicial to the interests of the respective peoples, to the prestige, strength and cohesion of the international socialist system.

We consider that for reinforcing solidarity it is absolutely necessary to discuss, from Party to Party, from Government to Government, in a comradely spirit of mutual respect, any controversial issues, seeking to remove disagreements, to establish common points of view and cement unity and cohesion. It is essential that in such cases one should proceed from what unites the Parties and socialist countries, from what they have in common and which, in our opinion, represents the fundamental element, incomparably more important than the differences of views and transient divergencies which eventually, in one form or another, will be eliminated by life.

Romania pays great attention to the development of economic cooperation based on mutual advantage and comradely reciprocal assistance with all the socialist countries. The bilateral and multilateral agreements between the socialist countries provide a wide field for mutual exchanges, for the joint achievement of economic projects, for expanding economic cooperation among them. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance plays a positive part in

the extension of economic relations between the member countries, based on observance of the Rules' provisions and of the fundamental principles of the relationships betweent the socialist States.

As you know, the Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee, of last March, taking into account the requirements of deepening the international division of labour under the conditions of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, adopted the decision on the development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation with other States. It is in the spirit of this decision that our country has put forward proposals to all socialist countries for developing cooperation in production, and the negotiations conducted so far have spotlighted broad possibilities in this field. Our Party and Government consider it as an important target of economic policy to develop cooperation with all the socialist countries with a view to better using the material and human potentialities of each country, to accelerating the introduction into production of the latest gains of science and technology, to developing the comradely relations with the countries of the world socialist system. The economic and social progress of each socialist country serves each people and at the same time the general cause of socialism. The more powerful, the more prosperous each socialist State by increasing its material, political and military potentialities, the more powerful is the whole socialist system.

Of primordial importance for the defence of the revolutionary gains of our peoples, for frustrating the aggressive machinations of imperialism and for safeguarding peace is the stepping up of the fighting capacity of each socialist country and of the whole system. As a member of the Warsaw Treaty, as a socialist country, Romania is doing her utmost for strengthening her defence capacity, so as to be ready to make, together with the other socialist countries, her contribution to repelling any aggressor, any imperialist attempt on the revolutionary gains of our peoples.

The unity of the socialist countries, of the world socialist system, appears in our days, more than ever, as an indispensable con-

dition for its enhanced role and influence over the unfolding of the whole contemporary revolutionary process. That is why we feel that the development of relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation with all the socialist countries is one of the fundamental tasks of our foreign policy, complying with the unanimous interests of our whole people, with the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

5 — THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF WARSAW PACT MEMBERS

As a socialist country and as a member of the Warsaw Treaty, Romania considers it necessary that she should attach special attention to the endowment and training of her armed forces, so that they should be ready at any moment to fulfil their duties in the best conditions. We proceed from the idea that the responsibility and obligation for endowment, instruction and education of each national army belong — and cannot but belong — to the Party and Government of the respective country, that are invested by the people with the prerogatives of general direction of the work of building up the new system, with the task of ensuring the good progress of the whole economic and social advance. By perseveringly preoccupying itself with strengthening and developing the national army, with raising its fighting potential, the Party fulfils one of its supreme obligations to its own people and at the same time a high internationalist duty, to the general cause of socialism, security and peace in the world. The better each national army is endowed, more thoroughly trained and more devoted to the interests of its own people, the more resolutely does it support the policy of the Party, of the socialist State, the more powerful is the might of the whole world socialist system.

Each army answers for the capacity and its level of fighting training to the people of its country, to the Party and State lead-

ership ; this is an essential and inalienable attribute of national sovereignty, a necessary expression of the functions of the socialist State of defending and consolidating the people's revolutionary gains. The full responsibility of the Party and State bodies in each country for the organization of the armed forces, for their endowment, instruction and education is the guarantee for strengthening the defence capacity of each socialist country and by this the might of the whole community of the socialist countries, creates premises for the fruitful development of their military cooperation.

This shows quite clearly that the command of the armed forces cannot be exercised by any outside body ; this is a sovereign attribute of the leadership of our Party and State.

Proceeding from the principles underlying the relations among the socialist States — as free and sovereign States equal in rights — we must place this military cooperation on lasting bases, which should ensure the efficient cooperation of our armies, the possibility for them to give — if need be — by common action, due riposte to any imperialist aggression. The military cooperation of the socialist countries has been and is being directed against the danger of imperialist aggression from the outside, for smashing any attack on the part of the imperialist forces, on the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the socialist States. There can be no justification for admitting in any way the use of armed forces for intervention in the internal affairs of any of the Warsaw Treaty socialist member-countries. The settlement of domestic problems belongs exclusively to the party and people of each country ; interference of any kind cannot but harm the cause of socialism, friendship and cooperation among the socialist countries. As we have already shown, our army — whether or not the Warsaw Treaty will exist — will in the future too develop cooperation and brotherhood-in-arms with the armed forces of the socialist States and — in case of an imperialist aggression — will fight with its full capacity shoulder to shoulder with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries.

6 – THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The talks we had these days — in an atmosphere of full understanting and fraternal unity — wich Comrades Dubček, Svoboda, Czernik as well as with other leaders of your Party and State have stressed the decision of our Parties and countries to extend the cooperation between them, to strengthen and develop in all fields Romanian-Czechoslovak alliance and cooperation. The Treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance which we have signed today ensures all the conditions necessary to intensify cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, technical-scientific domains between our countries. I would like to stress that the relations between our peoples have always marked a positive evolution. A sincere and fruitful friendship with roots reaching far back in the past connects us. Our peoples have nurtured, along their entire history, feelings of understanding and mutual respect, they have helped each other morally and materially in difficult moments, they have fought for similar ideas — freedom and social progress, independence and national sovereignty. Today, our peoples feel close to each other like brothers and comrades, united by the community of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, by their social order, by their aims and aspirations for socialism, progress and international cooperation.

As you know, the Romanian people had greeted from the very beginning with full understanding and warm sympathy the ample activity which working people in Czechoslovakia are carrying on, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the renewing course which has taken shape beginning with the January Plenary Meeting. During the short time since we have resided on Czechoslovakia's territory, we have convinced ourselves once more that the des-

tinies of socialism are in safe hands, that the Czeck and Slovakian peoples follow with confidence their Communist Party, while ensuring the consolidation and the steady development of their revolutionary gains. We formed this opinion and confidence while looking at the workers and intellectuals in Prague with whom we have met, at their faces, their staunchness and confidence which they hawe in their own power, and their decision to carry out their Party's policy. This meeting with you, your bright faces, the way in which you greeted the First-Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, who firmly leads the work of carrying out the programme elaborated by the Party have deepened our conviction.

We are fully confident that the workers of Czechoslovakia, the intelligentsia, the peasantry, united round their Party, will know how to do away with certain temporary difficulties and to ensure the building of socialism and communism in Czechoslovakia.

The decisions of this year's Plenary Meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the programme of action elaborated with a view to developing socialist construction and enlarging democracy, the liquidation of certain defficiencies and anomalies from the past, open new perspectives, fertile for the general progress of Czechoslovakia, for the better turning to good account of the great advantages which the new social order is offering. I am convinced that under the leadership of the Communist Party the Czeck and Slovakian peoples will successfully fulfil the objectives and tasks of the present stage of development of the country, they will ensure the building of the new society in keeping with their desires with the conditions and traditions of Czechoslovakia, with the general interests of socialism.

As good friends and comrades, we wish you full success in the efforts for the manysided development of Socialist Czechoslovakia, and assure you on this occasion too, of the solidarity and

brotherly internationalist support of the communists from Romania, of the entire Romanian people.

Our whole Party, the whole Romanian people, look upon the military intervention in socialist Czechoslovakia with profound anxiety. We consider this as a flagrant transgression of the national independence and sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as an interference by force in the affairs of the brother Czechoslovak people, as an act in full contradiction with the fundamental norms of the relations that must reign among the socialist countries and among the Communist Parties, with the very principles, generally-recognized of international law.

The troops of the five socialist countries have penetrated into Czechoslovakia without having been asked to by the legal, constitutional, elected bodies of the country, under the pretext of an appeal made by a certain group. But, it is a fact unanimously recognized and accepted in the whole international life that the relations among Parties and States proceed exclusively between their lawful leaderships and not between groups or persons that do not represent anybody. To admit the abandonment of these pinciples, the introduction of the practice of invoking for one action or another the demands of isolated groups, means to open the road to arbitrariness, to facilitate acts of intervention in the affairs of other Parties or States, military occupation of countries inclusively.

The penetration of foreign troops into the territory of Czechoslovakia has hindered the peaceful labour of the Czech and Slovak peoples, the activity of the Government, of the President of the Republic — the supreme commander of the army —, of the Communist Party's leadership, has created a particularly grave situation in the life of the country, paralysing the whole economic and social activity of the Czechoslovak nation. Can this be considered an internationalist assistance, an act of defending the Czechoslovak people against the danger of an imperialist aggression, a support in strengthening the socialist system in that country? Against

whom was this military intervention directed? Against the lawful leading bodies of the Communist Party and of the Czechoslovak State. Were these bodies threatening the cause of socialism in Czechoslovakia, the independence and sovereignty of their country? Did the fact that the Czechoslovak people wants to live in freedom and independence, to be sovereign in its country, to strengthen the alliance and cooperation with the socialist countries represent a danger to the cause of socialism? Since when have the principles of socialist democracy, of socialist humanism, the perfecting of socialist relations — which constitute the essence of the new system — become a counter-revolutionary threat? We refuse to accept such an interpretation, such a characterization of the efforts for perfecting socialism. It is precisely the implementation of these principles that give might and lastingness to the socialist society, that spotlights its superiority over the capitalist system: this precisely means the materialization of the masses' aspirations which fought to overthrow the exploiting classes from power, for a better and more dignified life.

In our opinion, a great and tragic mistake has been perpetrated, that cannot but have serious consequences for the fate of the unity of the socialist system and of the international communist and working-class movement, for the prestige and influence of the socialist countries, for the power of attraction of the ideas of socialism, for the strengthening of the entire anti-imperialist front and the cause of peace in the world.

Our assessment accords with that of numerous other communist and workers' parties, of the progressive and democratic forces, of the broadest circles of world public opinion which have taken a stand of disapproval of the military action undertaken against Czechoslovakia.

We wish to stress with a high sense of responsibility that nothing has justified and could have justified such a measure which is inconceivable in the world of socialism, and which arouses great bitterness in the heart of any honest-minded communist. The

Romanian Party and State delegation that recently visited the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic had talks with Comrades Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Ludvik Svoboda, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Oldrich Czernik, the Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, Josef Smrkovski, President of the Czechoslovak National Assembly, with other Party and State leaders, met numerous working people, inhabitants of Prague city. It was able to convince itself once again, on the spot, that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, its lawfully elected leadership, the working class and the entire people are firmly determined to defeat any negative, anti-socialist manifestation, and to surmount transient difficulties that exist in the social life of the country, to consolidate and develop the socialist gains, to maintain their political alliances and economic links with the other socialist countries. We have come back convinced that the fate of socialism in fraternal Czechoslovakia is in safe hangs. All the more is any attempt to justify this armed intervention completely groundless.

On behalf of the Communist Party, of the whole Romanian people, I am addressing from this high rostrum a warm message of sympathy and internationalist solidarity to the brother Czechoslovak people, the communists of Czechoslovakia, and express my full confidence in their capacity of ensuring the advance of Czechoslovakia along the road of socialism and communism !

At the same time, we consider that it is not yet too late to give proof of reason and a spirit of responsibility for the cause of friendship between the socialist countries, by stopping the military actions against Czechoslovakia, by creating conditions for the constitutional bodies of the State and the statutory elected Party bodies to carry on their activity unhampered. To this end, it is necessary that all the problems concerning the relations with Czechoslovakia be solved by discussions and negotiations with the legal Party and State leadership of that country. This is the only correct way out of the grave situation that has been created, the

only path that corresponds to political reason and the interests of socialism.

The Party and Government of our country are determined to actively militate for a settlement to be reached in the crisis created in Czechoslovakia, on the basis of observance of that country's national independence and sovereignty, of equal rights and non-interference in the domestic affairs. Only in this way can the normalization of the situation created, of the relations between the socialist countries be ensured.

In these difficult moments for the brother Czechoslovak people, for the situation in Europe, I wish to address you on behalf of the Central Committee, of the State Council and of the Government, and to express our full confidence in the Romanian people's resolve to ensure the peaceful construction of socialism in our Homeland.

The penetration of the troops of the five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia is a great mistake and a grave danger to peace in Europe, to the fate of socialism in the world. It is inconceivable in the world today, when the peoples are rising to the struggle for defending their national independence, for equality of rights, that a socialist State, that socialist States, should transgress the liberty and independence of another State. There is no justification whatsoever and no reason can be accepted for admitting for even a single moment the idea of military intervention in the affairs of a fraternal socialist State.

Our Party and State delegation that visited last week Czechoslovakia has convinced itself that the Czechoslovak people, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the working class of Czechoslovakia, old people, women and youth are unanimously supporting the Party and State leadership in the effort for putting right the negative state of affairs inherited from the past, in ensuring the triumph of socialism in that country.

The problem of choosing the roads of socialist construction is a problem of the respective Party, the respective State, the res-

pective people. Nobody can pose as adviser, as a guide to the way in which socialism has to be built in another country. We maintain that in order to place the relations between the socialist countries, between the Communist Parties, on truly Marxist-Leninist bases, an end must be put for good and all to interference in the affairs of other States, of other Parties.

The measures which the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers and the State Council have decided to take, include the submitting to the Grand National Assembly of a declaration to specify the manner in which we understand to build up our relations with the socialist countries, with all the countries in the world — based on observance of national independence and sovereignty, on full equality of rights, on non-interference in domestic affairs, our wish to found these relations on a true Marxist-Leninist cooperation which should contribute to the triumph of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to the triumph of communism, to campaign for the re-establishment of the authority of, and confidence in the Marxist-Leninist ideas.

We have decided to start from today forming armed patriotic detachments of workers, peasants and intellectuals, defenders of the independence of our socialist Homeland. We want our people to have its armed units in order to defend its revolutionary gains, to ensure its peaceful labour, the independence and security of the socialist Homeland.

We set out in our activity from the responsibility we have to the people, to all working people, regardless of nationality. All of us — Romanians, Magyars, Germans and people of other nationalities — have the same destiny, the same aspirations — the building of communism in our Homeland — , and we are determined in full unity to ensure the implementation of this ideal.

It was said that in Czechoslovakia there was a danger of counter-revolution; maybe, tomorrow there will be some who say that here too, at this rally, counter-revolution tendencies were manifest. We answer all of them : the entire Romanian people will

not allow anybody to violate the territory of our Homeland.

Look, comrades, here are our whole Central Committee, the State Council and Government. We are all of us determined to faithfully serve the people in building socialism, in defending the revolutionary gains, its independence. Here, we are many communists and antifascists who faced prisons and death, but we have never betrayed the interests of the working class, of our people. Be sure, comrades, be sure citizens of Romania, that we shall never betray our Homeland, we shall never betray te interests of our people.

We are confident that the communist and workers' parties will know how to find the ways for determining that a speediest end be put to this shameful moment in the history of the revolutionary movement . We are convinced that no communist could be found anywhere to approve this military action against Czechoslovakia, that all the communists will raise their voice for the promotion of liberty, for the promotion of the Marxist-Leninist principles, so that the Czechoslovak people, so that any people should be able to build as they wish the socialist society.

We are determined to act with all forces, with full responsibility in order to contribute to finding the means for the speediest solution of this situation created by the penetration of foreign troops into Czechoslovakia, in order that the Czechoslovak people should be able to unfold its activity in tranquility. We are firmly resolved to act together with the other socialist countries, with the other communist and workers' parties to contribute to the elimination of divergencies, to strengthening the unity of the socialist countries, of the Communist Parties. We are convinced that in this way we serve the interests of the people, and the interests of socialism throughout the world.

We ask the citizens of our Homeland, that having full confidence in the Party and State leadership, in our Communist Party, they give proof of full unity, act with calm and firmness. Each and everyone at his work place, should decuple his efforts in order to

ensure the implementation of the programme for the development of our socialist society. Let us be ready, comrades, to defend at any moment our socialist Homeland, Romania.

I thank you, all the citizens of the Capital city, for this warm manifestation, all the residents of our Homeland, for the confidence placed in us, for the attention with which you follow and support the policy of our Party. We wish you, comrades, good health, success in your activity, for the triumph of socialism in our Homeland. We ask you, comrades, to return to your activity; be sure that we shall keep you informed about the developments.

7 — THE SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF ROMANIA REAFFIRMED

Romania is aware with full responsibility of her duties as a component of the socialist system, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty. The member-countries of the Treaty will meet in the near future in order to discuss matters related to the development of military cooperation, to strengthening their fighting capacity. We are setting out from the idea that as long as the NATO military bloc continues to exist, the maintenance of the Warsaw Treaty is both necessary and justified, as a safeguard of the member-countries against an outside, imperialist aggression. The thesis that some are attempting to accredit, of late, and according to which the joint defence of the socialist countries against an imperialist attack would presuppose limitation or renunciation of the sovereignty of any Treaty member-State does not accord with the principles of relationships between the socialist countries and can by no means be accepted. Not only does membership in the Warsaw Treaty not render questionable the sovereignty of the member-countries, not only does it not "limit" in any way their State independence, but on

the contrary, as provided for in the Treaty itself, it serves for strengthening the independence and national sovereignty of each State.

8 — RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

The friendship between the Romanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia, founded on the tradition of old relations of good neighbourliness, has under socialism acquired the scope and lastingness springing up from the common aims and the collaboration in building the new society, from the ideals of socialist internationalism. The fruitful contacts and talks we have had in recent years, the visits you, Comrade Tito, paid to Romania, as well as our visits to Yugoslavia have contributed towards the expansion and intensification of the cooperation relations between our countries, to the strengthening and development of the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship. We note with satisfaction that the provisions of the agreements and conventions concluded on the occasion of those visits have been implemented successfully, in the spirit of sincere, mutually advantageous cooperation. This year, the volume of trade exchange between Romania and Yugoslavia — in keeping with the trade protocol signed in Belgrade — was 47 per cent higher as against 1967.

The building of the great hydro-power and shipping project at the "Iron Gates" is a live materialisation of these relations, an eloquent testimony of the creative capacity of the Romanian and Yugoslav specialists and builders, a symbol of friendship and brotherly cooperation, based on full equality in rights of the two socialist sovereign and independent states. Likewise, we note that Romanian-Yugoslav cooperation in the building-machine industry, and in the field of geological research is being successfully developing. The relations of technical-scientific, cultural coopera-

tion, as well as cooperation in other fields also record a positive evolution.

I express my conviction that our exchange of views will enable us to seek new ways and means to concretize the big possibilities of further development of the many-sided cooperation between our countries. I want to lay special stress on the prospects the development of socialist construction in our countries are opening up for the expansion of the mutually advantageous cooperation in industrial production, in science and technique.

I wish to stress, on this occasion, the similar way in which the leadership of our parties and countries approach the basic problems of present-day international life, of the norms and principles which must govern inter-State relationship. Romania and Yugoslavia actively assert themselves in international life as countries which are strongly animated by the desire to make their contribution to the strengthening of inter-State cooperation, to the establishment of a climate of confidence and rapprochement among peoples, to the defence of peace.

The Romanian Communist Party and the Socialist Republic of Romania focus their foreign policy on development and extension of the friendship and cooperation relations with the socialist countries in all spheres. We are devoting special attention to the development of our political, economic, cultural and scientific links with the neighbouring socialist countries, with the Soviet Union — which, with its immense material and human potential, plays a remarkable part in the contemporary world, in the defence of peace and security — with Bulgaria and Hungary, we are amplifying our friendship and cooperation links with all the other socialist countries.

In this context, the relations of good neighbourhood and close cooperation between Romania and Yugoslavia signify a positive contribution to the extension and intensification of the cooperation relations between the socialist countries, to the strengthening of the forces of socialism, to the cause of peace

and friendship among nations, Our country is, at the same time, developing many-sided relations with all countries, irrespective of their social systems, and works for a broad cooperation among states, for rapprochement between peoples and international détente.

It is known that there exist imperialist, reactionary and revenge-seeking circles in the world, which are opposed to the development of normal inter-state relations, exert economic, political, and other forms of pressure, brutally interfere in the internal affairs of other peoples, encroaching upon their national independence and sovereignty. In our opinion, each country — big or small — can make its contribution to the promotion of normal inter-state relations, relations of trust and rapprochement among peoples, can contribute to the progress of mankind's civilization, to the settlement of the crucial problems of our days, to the defence of peace and the averting of a new world war. In this context I wish to emphasize the outstanding importance in international life of the observance of the principles of national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in the internal affairs, equal rights, mutual advantage — as the sole basis on which normal, rational relations between all States of the world can be built.

1 – ATTITUDE TOWARDS COUNTRIES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS

The foreign policy of our Party and Government proceeds from the objective reality that in the contemporary world there are States with different social systems, from the necessity of developing relations among them, of exchanging material and spiritual values, of cooperating for the solving of pressing international issues, for defending peace and the security of the peoples. It is in this spirit that Romania is carrying on an intense activity on the line of expanding relations with all countries, on all continents, regardless of their social system.

As you know, we have had of late broad contacts, mutual visits, talks with heads of State and government, with prominent personalities from a great number of countries. Numerous government delegations and other representatives of foreign countries have visited Romania during this period; on the other hand, government delegations headed by the President of the State Council, Comrade Chivu Stoica, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer, and other representatives of our country have paid visits to a number of countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America. I wish to mention the many-sided activity carried on in the international life by Comrade Ion Gheorghe Maurer, who, as you know, has had of late meetings and talks with a number of State leaders and heads of government. We may say that during the last period he has spent most of his time abroad, a fact highly felt by his colleagues from the Council of Ministers. During these visits and meetings a broad and useful exchange of views has been made, new possibilities of expanding

economic, commercial, political, cultural and scientific cooperation between Romania and the respective countries have been spotlighted, and a number of present-day international issues have been tackled in a constructive spirit. We hold that these contacts and meetings are a contribution to the cause of rapprochement and understanding between peoples, to intensifying the exchange of material and spiritual values, to the cause of peace and social progress.

One of the constant targets of our country's foreign policy is to develop the relations of cooperation and good neighbourhood in the Balkans. As I have pointed out, Romania's relations with the socialist countries in the Balkans proceed in a spirit of lasting friendship and cooperation, contributing to the improvement of the general climate in this area.

There is a positive evolution of our political, economic and cultural links, with Turkey, and this contributes to a better mutual knowledge, to establishing Romanian-Turkish cooperation on lasting bases. We consider that conditions and possibilities exist for expanding the economic, political, cultural and scientific relations between our countries, in the interest of mutual progress, of peace and general security in the Balkans and in Europe.

During the last few years the relations between Romania and Greece, a country to which we are linked by old traditions of friendship and cooperation, have taken a favourable course and have developed. These relations correspond to the interests of both our peoples, to the cause of peace and cooperation in the Balkans. We are worried by the fact that following the military coup d'État in Greece a series of measures have been adopted putting obstacles in the way of the development of relations between the Romanian and Greek peoples, of the extension of general cooperation among the Balkan States. We believe that the Romanian and Greek peoples are interested in ensuring a mutually advantageous cooperation and in continuously improving the political climate in our region and all over the world.

In the future too, Romania will perseveringly militate along the line of its traditional efforts for the steady improvement of the political atmosphere and for the strengthening of the relations of cooperation and good neighbourhood among all the Balkan countries, considering that this is to the benefit and to the advantage of the peoples living in this area.

The political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific relations between Romania and France have also been continuously developing. In the course of history, the Romanian and French peoples have always been linked by feelings of mutual regard and not infrequently have they fought side by side for the promotion of the ideals of national and social freedom, for the progress of science and culture. There is every condition for the relations of many-sided Romanian-French cooperation to be further extended and amplified, in the interest of both peoples, concomitantly contributing to international détente, to the cause of European security and of world peace.

The relations between Romania and Italy are also gaining momentum and the existence of wide possibilities of cooperation between the two countries in many spheres — economic, political, cultural and scientific — is manifest. We trust that, by a close cooperation, these possibilities will be turned to an even better account and will have a positive effect on the life of both peoples, on the cause of peace in Europe.

The present progress of the relations between Romania and England points to the extension of the economic, political, technical and scientific cooperation between the two countries. Doubtlessly not all the possibilities of cooperation have been exhausted as yet; the creation of conditions for the increase of Romanian exports to England would certainly give a new impetus to the many-sided relations between our countries, in the interest of both our peoples, in the interest of peace.

As is known, proceeding from the actual existence of the two German States, from our country's consistent policy in support

of the strengthening of European security, from the interests of peace and cooperation among peoples, this year Romania has established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. The economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between Romania and the Federal Republic of Germany has witnessed a powerful development. Possibilities are necessary to be found so as to increase Romania's exports to the Federal Republic of Germany, with a view to balancing our trade with this country and to extending economic exchanges in future. This will contribute to the development of many-sided relations between the two countries.

Romania's relations with Austria are being intensified: between the two countries a number of economic, technical and cultural agreements, which open up new possibilities of cooperation, have been concluded.

Similarly our relations of political, economic, cultural, technical and scientific cooperation with Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway and Finland have taken a positive course and have made notable progress. Life has shown that there are wide possibilities for developing relations with all the European countries, that the endeavours for making good use of these possibilities serve the interests of each and every people, directly contribute to the cause of European security, to the promotion of world peace.

The economic, scientific and cultural relations between Romania and the United States of America have made some progress of late. However, we should point out that the development of these relations is rendered difficult by both the discriminatory practices the U.S.A. resorts to and the war waged against the Vietnamese people — as mentioned, as a matter of fact, by certain American political circles as well. We are for the development of friendship between the Romanian and American peoples, for the extension of relations between the two countries on mutually advantageous grounds, in the interest of cooperation and peace the world over.

The relations of political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation between Romania and Japan have been sensibly extended of late, and have good prospects of development.

We also appreciate as positive the development of the relations between our country and India.

I should like to stress that during the last few years the relations between Romania and Iran have made consistent progress. The foundations for cooperation in the economic field have been laid and thus our relations have acquired a stable and long-term character. The relations of cooperation have developed successfully in other fields of the political and social life as well, in the interest of both peoples, and of peace.

The relations of our country with Pakistan as well as with other Asian countries have also developed fruitfully.

In our international policy an important place is held by the relations of economic, political and cultural cooperation with the Arab countries for which the Romanian people harbours feelings of friendship and solidarity. I should like to mention in particular the development of our many-sided relations with the United Arab Republic during the last few years. Romania believes that the future extension of many-sided relations with the Arab countries serves the cause of our peoples' progress, the cause of world peace and security.

Romania has established diplomatic relations with new African States, and maintains relations of cooperation in various fields with a large number of African countries which make efforts for their economic and social progress and which assert themselves ever more actively in the international arena. This corresponds to the interests of both the Romanian people and the peoples in those countries.

We appreciate as positive the fact that during the last few years diplomatic relations have been established between Romania and some other countries in Latin America and that our political, economic, cultural and scientific relations with the countries

in that part of the world have been extended. We think that there are conditions for the widening and intensification of many-sided cooperation with those countries, to which we are linked by affinities of language and culture, to the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the development of international cooperation.

In our epoch when the scientific and technical gains give the peoples huge means and possibilities of increasing their material and spiritual wealth, of turning to good account the natural resources for the benefit of society, the development of economic relations between States, the participation in the international division of labour stand out as objective requirements for human progress. By exchanging the product of labour, by participating together in the speeding up of the economic, scientific and cultural progress, by making their contribution to the development of the treasure store of modern civilization, peoples get to know and appreciate each other better, and work together more efficiently for the consolidation of peace. ***Owing to the progress made in our national economy, in the country's socialist industrialization, Romania can participate to an ever greater extent in the international exchange of material and spiritual goods, can intensify collaboration and cooperation in various forms, including the sphere of production, with the States in Europe and on other continents.***

Comrades, as you may see, Romania has carried on a policy of wide cooperation on various planes with all the countries of the world, irrespective of their social systems; she actively participates in international life and cuntributes to promoting confidence and cooperation among peoples, to ensuring peace on our planet.

While consistently championing for this policy of wide international cooperation, we are conscious that there exist fundamental differences of view between our country and other countries, differences that spring up first and foremost from our different social systems, from the different way of assessing events and processes occurring in the world. ***Of course, the development of***

diplomatic relations, of political, economic, cultural and scientific cooperation between countries having different social systems, does not mean acceptance by a country of policies and standpoints contrary to its own orientation. But the intensification of relations, contacts, exchanges of views offers the possibility of finding mutually acceptable solutions in issues of common interest, with a view to solving certain topical problems of international life, to promoting the cause of peace and the peoples' security. This is an essential prerequisite for the attainment of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the development of cooperation among States, for international détente, for the prevention of a new war.

The entire international activity of our country, the relations Romania maintains with all the countries of the world, are based on the respect for the right of each people to decide its own destiny, on non-interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, on the unflinching promotion of the principles of national independence and sovereignty. These principles which life itself has raised to the rank of supreme desideratum in the relations between the countries of the world, which it has made the fundamental premise of the normal development of international relations, are assuming an ever wider field of assertion, enjoy the adhesion of an increasing number of countries, the support of large circles of world public opinion.

2 – SPEECH ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF GENERAL DE GAULLE TO ROMANIA

Working for the progress of the Romanian nation we are animated by respect for the life and destinies of other peoples, by the aspiration to live in good understanding and cooperation with all nations of the world. In this context the Romanian people gives particular attention to the links with the French people. The Romanian-French friendship has asserted its vitality

along the ages being penetrated by the spirit of a deep human solidarity. It is known from history that more than once did citizens of our Homeland fight alongside the French people — in the 1848 revolution, during the Paris Commune, in the 1918 war — and always knew how to fight courageously, to prove the lasting friendship that has linked them for centuries and which further links them.

Of course, the Romanians and the French live in different social-political conditions, but the development of their cooperation in the mentioned spheres is both in the interest of Romania and France and in the interest of international cooperation and détente. We are convinced that the Romanian-French friendship and cooperation will stand up against any circumstances and will always be invincible.

We are glad to see that the traditional links between our countries and peoples have continuously broadened in recent years. The meetings between the State leaders of the two countries are important factors for strengthening and developing these links. In this respect I mention the visit paid to France in 1964 by the Chairman of the Romanian Government, Ion Gheorghe Maurer, as well as those of other representatives of the two countries.

Your visit to Romania, Mr. President, the talks and the fruitful exchange of views which we are having undoubtedly mark an outstandingly significant moment in the history of the relations between the two countries. This visit will be an outstanding contribution to the cause of Europe, to the cause of peace throughout the world.

We note with satisfaction that the economic exchanges between Romania and France have considerably increased and diversified in recent years, the provisions of the long-term trade agreement concluded in 1965 have been implemented. An eloquent illustration of this positive process is the cooperation in the production of automobiles — the agreement concluded with the Renault

company for the building of a works near Pitești, which will start production this year. During your visit today to the thermo-power station you were able to see how the Romanians and French are making joint efforts to produce electric light, we may say, to give light and lastingness to French-Romanian friendship.

Good results have also been recorded in the sphere of cultural and scientific relations which are founded on a fruitful and long-standing tradition of close cooperation between Romanian and French scientists, of reciprocal influence in the sphere of artistic and cultural production.

The talks we have had these days have spotlighted the desire and determination of Romania and France to intensify their economic, political, technical-scientific and cultural cooperation, to make it possible for the two peoples to mutually acquaint each other with their achievements in material and spiritual production. We have agreed, with the aim of intensifying our exchanges, to set up a Joint Government Commission, that should ensure a still more intensive development of our cooperation in all fields of activity.

We are convinced that what we have jointly established during these last few days will materialize and will make the friendship between France and Romania become, if one may say so, a model of relations between two independent countries, masters of their destinies.

It goes without saying that this cooperation can progress much more in the future, strongly manifesting itself also in the sphere of solving the major problems of contemporary international life, of the efforts for placing political relations in Europe on sound bases.

Romania and France can make a significant contribution to international détente, to the development of cooperation, trust and friendship among the European peoples, among the peoples of the whole world, and we are confident that it will be so.

3 – SPEECH AT THE OFFICIAL DINNER FOR RICHARD NIXON AND HIS WIFE

Esteemed Mr. President,
Esteemed Mrs. Nixon,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am glad to be able to greet you, high representatives of the American people at this dinner. The reception which has been made to you, Mr. President, by the citizens of Bucharest, reflects the feelings of appreciation and esteem which our two peoples harbour for each other, it expresses the Romanian people's will for peace and friendship with the American people, with all peoples of the world. It is incontestable that the presence for the first time in history of the United States President in Romania is of particular significance for the evolution of the relations between our states. At the same time, it mirrors the positive changes which have occurred in the contemporary world, it stands proof of the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence which is steadily gaining ground in international life.

It is a well-known fact that Romania and the United States of America are countries with different regimes and therefore our conceptions about the social-political development of the world are also different. We consider, however, that the existence of the differences in the social system, should not prevent the development of the relations of cooperation between nations. On the contrary, it requires the active promotion in international life of peaceful coexistence, of a realistic, lucid, constructive policy, it requires the extensive cooperation of all countries with a view to strengthening peace and security.

President Nixon, your visit to Romania takes place on the

President Nixon during his visit to Rumania

President Nicolae Ceausescu with G. Pompidou

eve of the anniversary of a quarter century since the Romanian people's liberation from the fascist yoke. In this context, I should like to mention the fact that together with the armies of the Soviet Union and with the other allied armies, the American soldiers contributed to defeating fascist Germany, to liberating the peoples invaded by the Nazis. Taking its fate into its own hands, and proceeding most resolutely along the road of a free and independent life, the Romanian people has managed within a short period of history radically to change the country's appearance, to develop the economy, science and culture, to build up a new system, whose supreme goal is the welfare and happiness of the working people. Our nation is firmly resolved intensely to continue its vast peaceful creative work, to ensure the ceaseless and multilateral progress of the people, as well as Romania's transformation into an advanced country of the world. It is on this basis that the Romanian people participates ever more actively in the exchange of material and spiritual values of contemporary mankind.

Our country knows the remarkable achievements of your people on the plane of the economy, science, technology and culture. The magnificent space travel of the American astronauts — the first earthlings to have stepped upon the moon and to have brought to our planet materials from another celestial body, — has rejoiced us because it represents a brilliant victory of the human genius, of universal cognition. This event shows once more how necessary it is to set up on our planet the peaceful coexistence and collaboration between all peoples. We express our hope that this conquest of the mind will contribute not only to the progress of science and technique, but also to developing cooperation among nations in the interests of peace and civilization.

We appreciate the fact that the relations between Romania and the United States of America — free from any state disputes — have seen an ascending development. The talks we have

had pointed out that the stage reached by the collaboration between the two countries is, however, far from exhausting the existing possibilities and has brought to the fore the reciprocal desire to explore new roads towards extending our economic, scientific, technical and cultural exchanges and cooperation.

I express my conviction that your visit to Romania, Mr. President, will mark a substantial stride forward in developing the many-sided, mutually advantageous relations between our two countries.

We also appreciate positively the fact that talks have outlined possibilities for extending our joint works in the world arena, in behalf of the cause of peace. Of course, the talks we have held, have also evidenced differences of view concerning certain problems of the current international situation, but this can be no obstacle against our acting in common along the road of détente, against our seeking new ways of improving the world political atmosphere. Romania proceeds from the consideration that all countries of the world — be they large or small — shoulder the responsibility for the fate of peace, for the evolution of international relations, that they have the duty of contributing towards the settlement of the arduous problems of contemporary life, towards setting up the confidence and cooperation between peoples.

As a socialist country, Romania places at the centre of her foreign policy, the multilateral collaboration with the socialist countries, with which she is bound up closely, through the identity of the social system. At the same time, she permanently develops fruitful relations on all planes with the other countries of the world. In our opinion, nowadays, when, ever new nations assert themselves in the international arena, manifesting their firm will to stride independently along the road of progress and civilization, ensuring the conditions for each nation to be able to decide by itself its fate and the road of its own social and political development, represents the essential imperative

of international life. In our opinion, in the contemporary epoch, the sine qua non prerequisite of peace lies in establishing in the relations between the states the principles of national independence and sovereignty, the definitive abolition of the policy of domination and interference in the home affairs of others, the setting up of the full equality among nations. These principles acquire ever wider international recognition, they are being asserted ever more in the relations between countries, they enjoy the extensive adhesion of the public opinion everywhere. Their curtailment endangers the security of the world and creates hostility, conflicts, new hotbeds of war.

In this connection we cannot but express the concern aroused in us — and in fact throughout the world — by the continuation of the war in Vietnam. During the talks we had had, we have dwelt at large on our country's position towards this problem. We hope that the negotiations in Paris will lead to the cessation of the war, to the withdrawal of the troops from Vietnam, conditions being thus created for the Vietnamese people to be able to decide the road of its economic and social development in an independent way, without any foreign interference. At the same time, Romania considers it necessary, that every effort should be made in order to solve the conflict in the Near East in the spirit of the 1967 Resolution of the Security Council, with a view to the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from the occupied territories, with a view to ensuring the right of each state in that zone to an independent existence, to development and progress.

Romania considers that one of the central problems of international life, whose solution could make a radical contribution to strengthening peace, lies in the implementation of disarmament and of atomic disarmament in the first place, the achievement of concrete measures for reducing and liquidating the thermo-nuclear danger. Of particular importance for this purpose would be the liquidation of the division of the world into opposite military blocs, the abolition of the North Atlantic Pact

and concomitantly of the Warsaw Treaty, the elimination of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of the troops within their national frontiers. We know that these are very complex and serious problems, but politicians and heads of states are obliged, if they heed the interests of mankind and of peace to approach these problems and to find solutions for them. Nowadays, mankind expects from politicians, from the heads of states, not words but deeds, they expect the fulfilment of its aspiration for living in peace and collaboration.

Substantial progress towards international relaxation could be achieved in our opinion by setting up lasting security in the European continent. European security can be carried out by proceeding from the realities established as a result of the Second World War, from the existence of the two German states, from an acknowledgement of the inviolability of post-war frontiers including the Oder-Neisse frontier. A positive influence would be exerted by the holding of the European conference, a desideratum expressed increasingly often by many states. It is not only the European people, but all peoples of the world that are vitally interested in achieving security in our continent; the fulfilment of this objective would most favourably impinge upon the political atmosphere in all continents.

Mr. President, I do express my conviction that the meetings and talks we have had, our resolve to develop the collaboration between Romania and the United States of America will make a vital contribution to the cause of world peace and cooperation, to the ever broader promotion in the world, of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Taking place barely a few days after the achievement of man's dream of several thousands years to travel to other celestial bodies, our meeting acquires particular significance. It symbolizes the possibility for peoples to live in peace and understanding on this planet — the age-old cradle of their existence — to pool their efforts with a view to achieving the other dream

of several thousand years: a world free from wars and destruction, a world of collaboration and progress. We are fully convinced that this meeting and our talks mark a decisive moment in extending the multilateral collaboration and cooperation between Romania and the United States, between the Romanian and American peoples. At the same time, we should like this visit — appreciated by public opinion as an important event in international life — to be the sign of advance along the road of improving the relations between all nations of the world, free and equal in their rights.

Please allow me to toast for the triumph of peace, this magnificent ideal of people in all continents, irrespective of race, creed, political or philosophical conditions.

I am drinking your health, Mr. President, yours, esteemed Mrs. Nixon, I am drinking the health of the other guests, of everybody present.

4 — ATTITUDE TO COMECON AND THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Romania is one of the States which initiated the CMEA. We viewed and continue to view the CMEA as an instrument of promoting relations of good collaboration and cooperation between the member-countries, creating conditions for the independent, self-relying development of each state. We are bearing in mind that today, under the conditions of the contemporary technological and scientific revolution, inter-State cooperation is an imperative necessity of progress. We are aware of the fact that no State i.e. Romania either, — which is actually one of the smaller States — can develop without promoting intensive and many-sided international collaboration and cooperation. That is why we stand for expanded cooperation with the CMEA countries, with all the socialist countries — in the spirit of observance of

the interests of each country, of the fast development of each nation.

We stand at the same time for expanded cooperation with the other countries of the world — and maintain that CMEA membership is not of a nature to influence the economic relations as a whole of the respective countries. As a matter of fact our economic exchanges with France — which have grown nearly double in the last four years — are conclusive in this respect.

As to the Common Market, I do not want to set forth now all my critical views, although I would have much to reproach to this Organization. I want only to remark the fact that such groupings appearing as closed blocs and proceeding along the path of economic discrimination among nations cannot contribute either to the development of international progress or to the rapprochement of states and the achievement of security. Custom duties and a series of other restrictive clauses render the relations of the Comon Market countries with other States difficult. It seems that the present discussions within the Common Market point to a wish for narrowing down still more the possibilities of developing such relations. However, we hope that the fact will be finally understood that it is only free inter-State cooperation which allows for speeding up general progress, intensifying détente and strengthening security and peace.

Policy for Detente

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1 – WORKING FOR A DETENTE IN EUROPE

As is known, well-nigh three years ago, the socialist countries in Warsaw Treaty membership participating in the Bucharest Meeting, made an ample analysis of the problems of security on the European continent. The Declaration signed on the occasion aroused a wide response among public opinion in Europe and the world over. It has been for the first time when a proposal of the socialist countries was not rejected by the political circles of the West but, on the contrary, aroused particular interest in all the European countries, as well as in states on other continents. This response aroused by the Bucharest Declaration must be related to the fact that the Declaration was based on a many-sided and objective examination of the realities on the Continent; at the same time, this spotlights that the ideas promoted in the Declaration — and reiterated in the recent Appeal of the socialist states attending the Budapest Meeting — accord with the interests of all the peoples, with the imperative, objective demands of consolidating peace. During the period elapsed since the Bucharest Meeting, the Romanian Government has had negotiations and talks with the representatives of practically all the states on the Continent. On these occasions we have been able to realize that in the ranks of broad political circles, European government circles included, the deliberate wish is growing to seek by means of negotiations and discussions for realistic solutions for the elimination of the hotbeds of disagreement accumulated on the Continent, for placing the inter-state relations on new, healthy bases.

There are now broad possibilities favouring the successful unfolding of the actions directed towards the achievement of security on the European continent. Obviously, there are still a series of obstacles to be surmounted in the road towards the achievement of this target; in any case, we are under no illusions about the fact that European security could be achieved by only general statements and talks about good intentions. Yet, by the persevering joint efforts of all the countries, by an active policy of developing inter-state contacts, by persevering and patient exploration of all the possibilities of peaceful settlement of the outstanding issues, the trend towards détente on our continent can gain ground, and real progress can be achieved along the line of achieving European security.

The wide response aroused in the West European countries by the Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states confirms once more the interest of public opinion in the establishment of a climate of active cooperation, of détente and peace in Europe. This Appeal met with a favourable reception in the ranks of the most diverse social categories — working people, intellectuals, remarkable cultural figures, prominent political personalities, representatives of public life, and peace fighters in numerous countries. Stress should be laid in this context on the positive appreciations made, and stands taken by some state leaders, by representatives of political parties, by responsible factors of European states, who welcomed the Appeal and expressed their adhesion to the targets set forth in connection with toning down the tension and creating a climate of trust and peaceful cooperation on the Continent. The fact that the ideas set forth in the Appeal have aroused positive reactions among numerous political and government circles in the European countries and on other continents demonstrates that any proposal and action aimed at European détente enjoy the endorsement of public opinion, stimulate the forces standing for the maintenance and consolidation of peace.

A conference of the European countries would allow for an ample collective debate of the security problems on the Continent, would facilitate the finding of solutions for surmounting the difficulties prevailing in the path towards détente, could occasion a positive evolution of the international atmosphere in Europe. In order that such a conference may have chances of success an intensive political and diplomatic activity must be conducted for paving the way towards the improvement of the climate on the Continent. We do not set out from the premise that the ideas and problems included in the Appeal that was signed at the Budapest Meeting would exhaust all the modalities and possibilities meant to facilitate the attainment of the aim of European security. It would be particularly useful if each country would make its own contribution to seeking out the most adequate means of realization of this desideratum, setting forth to this end constructive proposals and suggestions. In their decision endorsed recently with regard to approval of the Warsaw Treaty member-states' Appeal to all the European states, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania have shown that they are ready to examine with full attention the suggestions of other European states concerning the organization of the conference, to discuss also the impediments that might appear in the road of realizing this idea and have underlined that we are receptive to any proposal directed towards the achievement of security and cooperation on the Continent. Essential is that a constructive attitude be adopted in this connection, that the European states should meet halfway each other, should manifest a maximum of receptiveness to the initiatives, the standpoints that are favourable to peace and détente, regardless on the part of whom they would come; at the same time, it is necessary that new and new actions be inaugurated to rally increasingly ample forces to the effort for the manysided development of cooperation among the European states, irrespective of social system.

The development of inter-state relations of cooperation, regardless of social system, is the essential means of achieving European security. The relations between the European countries have for too long a time been shadowed by mistrust and suspicion; time has come for the apprehensions and incertitude to be gradually removed, for the inter-state relations to be placed on new, healthy foundations. Our Party and State believe that this basis is only provided by full recognition and strict observance of the rights of each people to decide on its own fate, to follow the path of development it considers to be in harmony with its will and interests, by the observance of equal rights, of the independence and sovereignty of states, of mutual advantage. The steadfast promotion of these principles — emphasized also in the Appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states — is the fundamental premise of a peaceful coexistence of the nations and of fruitful cooperation among them, of consolidating peace.

Life has shown that direct links and contacts between the responsible factors of the European countries are of particular importance for better mutual acquaintance, with the standpoints and positions, for a thorough examination of the bilateral and general problems of the international situation, for the creation of conditions for an increasingly ample and fruitful cooperation among the states on our continent.

Essential in an efficient approach of the problems of European security and of strengthening peace on the Continent is that one should set out from *taking into consideration and recognizing the realities established after the Second World War, the inviolability of the existing frontiers, the Oder-Neisse frontier included, as well as of the frontiers between the GDR and the FRG.* In acting along this line, we must bear in mind the creation of such an atmosphere where each people should have full certitude of its security, should be sure of the intangibility of the frontiers, of territorial integrity, should feel safe from any danger of aggression.

An important demand of improving the European political climate and of expanding cooperation on the Continent is *recognition of the existence of the two German states — the German Democratic Republic, a socialist state, and the Federal Republic of Germany — and the development of normal relations with them, for their participation in the resolving of all European problems.*

A radical measure for the elimination of the sources of tension and the strengthening of peace and European security is *the abolition of the military blocs.* The parties and governments of the socialist countries, stressing that the world's division into opposing military blocs is in contradiction with the tendencies of a healthy development of international life and is anachronical, constituting an obstacle in the road of inter-state cooperation, have repeatedly stated their readiness to proceed, concomitantly with the abolition of the North Atlantic alliance, to the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty. It is well known that these statements have enjoyed a powerful response among the European peoples as well as among world public opinion. At present, when broad circles of public opinion declare themselves against the prolongation of the North Atlantic pact, the reiteration of these statements in the Budapest Appeal meets with approval and satisfaction among the peoples.

A cardinal target in the struggle for the creation of a European security system, for which the socialist countries have in the Bucharest Declaration as well pledged themselves to militate, *is the dismantling of the foreign military bases, the withdrawal of all the troops from the territories of other states to within the limits of their national frontiers.* Public opinion is ever more resolutely speaking up against any manifestation of a military nature meant to intimidate the peoples against any demonstrations of force which envenom the international political atmosphere.

We also hold that under the conditions of today, *the disarmament problem* should focus much more the attention of the

countries, of all progressive, anti-imperialist forces. Mankind is profoundly concerned with the elimination of the threat of a thermo-nuclear war; it is notorious that the sole radical road of avoiding this threat is nuclear disarmament, the abolition of the nuclear weapon stockpiles in existence, the prohibition of their use and production. The adoption of the Treaty on nuclear weapon non-proliferation has been a step along this line. It must, however, be continued by further concrete, practical measures along the line of nuclear disarmament, which should be conducive to a continuous diminution of the nuclear danger. Of a particular importance for the peace and security of the peoples would be the creation of denuclearized zones.

2 — IN FAVOUR OF A NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE IN THE BALKANS

Romania holds that the realization of a lasting cooperation between the Balkan countries is, under the present conditions, a factor of capital necessity for the development of each country in the region, and also for the cause of security and peace in the Balkan area and in Europe.

Setting out from the danger spelt by nuclear weapons to the life and civilization of humanity, Romania maintains that firm action is needed so that no nuclear weapons should exist in the Balkan region.

We view the realization of denuclearized zones as a component part of the fight for nuclear disarmament, for the banning of the nuclear weapons.

3 – NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT AND THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY

One of the fundamental aspirations of the whole of mankind is removal of the danger of a nuclear war, which brings about dangers unprecedented in history hovering over human civilization. ***In our opinion, the secure road to eliminating the danger of thermo-nuclear war is banning the use of nuclear weapons, cessation of their production and complete liquidation of the existing stock-piles.*** However, in order to smooth the path towards this target, a number of transitory, partial measures can be taken into consideration, that should contribute to effectively lessening the nuclear danger.

Romania considers that in this respect the banning of the proliferation of nuclear weapons would be of particular importance. But it goes without saying that this move must be part of a series of measures leading to nuclear disarmament. Without precise, firm and efficient measures, on the part of all States, for ceasing the production of nuclear weapons, for reducing and ultimately liquidating the existing stock-piles, non-proliferation would not only fail to secure progress along the way of liquidating the danger of a nuclear war, but would bring about its indefinite perpetuation. Such an approch to non-proliferation of nuclear weapons would only legislate the division of the world into nuclear and non-nuclear States, would allow the nuclear powers to further increase their nuclear arsenal and further improve nuclear weapon technology. ***Therefore, with the assuming of the obligation of renouncing he nuclear weapon on the part of the non-nuclear States, a non-proliferation treaty must include precise obligations of the nuclear States, concerning measures aimed at banning and destroying those weapons.***

In our epoch of large-scale technological-scientific revolution,

economic progress is closely linked to peaceful use of nuclear power — a remarkable gain of human genius, the most recent source of power for expanding economy, science and technology. ***Therefore, taking measures of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons must ensure boundless rights and possibilities to all the countries, without discrimination, to carry out research work in this field, to use the gains of nuclear science for peaceful development.*** Any restrictions regarding the access to peaceful use of nuclear power would doom the non-nuclear countries to lagging behind from the industrial and scientific point of view, would encroach upon every people's right to benefit by the great gains of modern civilization.

It should also be pointed out that the efficiency and power of attraction of a non-proliferation treaty depend on the extent to which it will guarantee all the participant States a higher degree of security. ***In view of the fact that non-proliferation implies the obligation of the non-nuclear States not to acquire this weapon, it is quite justified and necessary that — until the complete liquidation of the nuclear stock-piles — the non-nuclear States should get security guarantees, first of all the commitment of the States that possess the nuclear weapon, not to utilize it against them, not to menace them with the use of that weapon in any circumstances whatever.***

A non-proliferation treaty should also provide for a precise and equitable control system, based on the principle of equality of States, equally binding on all countries, a system which should not make it possible to interfere in the internal affairs of the peoples.

Non-proliferation of nuclear weapons must lead to liquidating the division of the world into nuclear and non-nuclear countries, to strengthening equality among States, to truly lessening the war menace. ***If the non-proliferation treaty meets these fundamental requirements it will succeed in really being a means of strengthening peace and international security, of defending the peoples' life.*** Since all the peoples, all the anti-imperialist forces are interested in this problem, in debating such measured should participate all the countries of the world as the absence of certain countries, parti-

cularly from among the nuclear countries, might jeopardize the success of non-proliferation. ***Romania considers that efforts must be continued for achieving a non-proliferation treaty which should meet the interests of the general progress of mankind, of world peace.***

The ratification of Romania's adhesion to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is on the agenda of the present meeting of the State Council.

As is known Romania has actively participated in the working out of this Treaty. She advanced a series of proposals and remarks aimed at improving the initial draft, during the proceedings of the Disarmament Committee and in the General Assembly of the United Nations. Some of these proposals and remarks were taken into consideration and materialized in a series of amendments to the draft, and have been included in the Treaty we are discussing today.

I should say, however, comrades, that unfortunately, the Treaty does not include all the proposals and remarks of Romania and of other states. One can say that the Treaty, in its present form, does not fully meet the demands of the international progressive movement, of ensuring the peoples' security. At the same time, a series of countries, the People's Republic of China included, which own nuclear weapons, are outside the Treaty, a fact which from the very beginning limits the Treaty's sphere of operation.

Moreover, the Treaty provisions do not include practical measures for stopping nuclear weapon production, for abolishing stockpiles of this weapon, as it also fails to provide guarantees against the nuclear weapon being used in case of war; therefore, we cannot say that it is a Treaty apt to afford certitudes to mankind against an atomic war, to provide security of the fact that nuclear weapons are not used against the peoples. Nevertheless, we considered and do consider that the Treaty signifies a step towards measures for limiting and abolishing the development of atomic arming, and that is why we have backed this Treaty and propose it for ratification.

Yet, we consider it necessary for us to further carry on sustained activity both in Geneva and at the United Nations Organization, and within other international bodies, for a going over to concrete measures of nuclear disarmament; only in this way will conditions be created for mankind to be given real guarantee of never falling victim to a nuclear attack. One should not forget for any moment that among the owners of the nuclear weapon there are imperialist states, and this entails the threat of the outbreak of a devastating atomic war. The sole way of eliminating the atomic danger is the banning and abolition of nuclear weapons for good and all.

With this end in view I think that, while ratifying the Treaty, the State Council should recommend the Government intensified activity for the achievement of fresh measures on the path of the abolishment of nuclear weapons, on the path of atomic disarmament. We especially recommend the Government that through the Romanian representatives' activity within the Geneva Disarmament Committee it should act most firmly for general disarmament, for the achievement of concrete steps towards the abolition of atomic weapons. This Committee should not limit itself to general statements — which have practically yielded almost no positive result — but should concretely concentrate first and foremost on the prohibition of nuclear weapons and their use.

With these remarks and recommendations I propose that we accept the ratification of the Treaty.

4 — THE NEED TO WIND-UP NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT

As is known, our Party and Government consider the existence of military blocs, of the NATO aggressive pact as an obstacle in the path of developing trust and cooperation among states. In

our opinion efforts must be intensified for the dissolution of the NATO aggressive pact and with it of the Warsaw Pact. This would have a positive influence on the political climate in Europe, on the improvement of inter-state relationships, on strengthening peace on our continent and throughout the world.

Measures are also necessary for the dismantling of military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other States. As long as the military bases and the foreign troops will continue to be on the territory of other States, it is difficult to speak about the rigorous implementation of the principles of observing the independence and sovereignty of other States. The implementation of European security presupposes the development among states of new-type relations, the start out from the observance of the national independence and sovereignty of everyone, from non-interference in the affairs of other States, from trust and cooperation. It must be understood that European security is closely linked to the observance of the security and independence of each State. We consider that it is necessary to intensify the activity on all planes for further steps to be taken on the path of creating the necessary conditions for the implementation of European security.

Mankind is rightfully preoccupied with the danger spelt by the existence of nuclear weapons. Therefore, it is necessary to make sustained efforts for the cessation of the nuclear armaments race, the liquidation of the existing stockpiles; this is the only real way that could safeguard mankind against the danger of a thermo-nuclear war. The non-proliferation of atomic weapons whose significance is incontestable must be implemented in the conditions of assuring all the nations that renounce these weapons, that they shall never be the victims of an atomic aggression or of a threat of nuclear weapons being used against them. It is the legitimate right of each State that renounces the atomic weapon to have the certainty that no attempts will be made on its national independence and sovereignty. The use of atomic energy

for peaceful purposes is taking on great importance for the future. It can be said that on this depends the future economic progress itself of each country. That is why the access to researches in this domain, to the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes must be ensured without any kind of restrictions to all the States.

Romania and the Third World

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1 — THE ROLE OF IMPERIALISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

In the assessment of the relation of forces in the contemporary world not for a moment should it be forgotten that imperialism still has a material and military potential that must not be underrated and which it uses in order to regain its lost positions, in order to maintain and consolidate its domination.

In order to hamper the process of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, to stifle the national liberation movement and the States' tendencies towards sovereign development, imperialism encroaches upon the gains of the peoples, upon the democratic freedoms of the mass, and resorts to plots, coups d'Etat and military aggressions. By bolstering up the most reactionary internal forces, imperialism has in a number of countries managed to remove the parliamentary, democratic systems, and to impose reactionary, dictatorship governments that conduct a policy of subjecting the national interests to the foreign monopolies. This, with good reason, causes legitimate anxiety among the progressive forces the world over. In the promotion of the policy of aggression, of interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, the chief inspiring and organizing force is American imperialism, which has the largest material and military resources.

The course of events shows that the policy of aggression and dictate pursued by American imperialism in various parts of the world is calling forth the growing disapproval of world public opinion and increases the former's isolation in the international arena. Even member countries of the imperialist military groupings disassociate themselves from the aggressive actions of the

U.S.A., seeing in them the danger of getting involved in warlike adventures, of jeopardizing their own national interests. Ever more visible tendencies towards an independent policy, towards unhampered progress of inter-State relations are manifest in the Western countries.

The penetration of American capital, the growth of the economic hegemony of American monopolies in a number of capitalist countries are also encountering the ever greater opposition of the business circles in those countries, and aggravate the contradictions within the capitalist system.

The entire course of international social and political life shows that imperialism has not become stronger than before. It resorts to aggressive acts and interference in the internal affairs of other countries because it feels that its positions are increasingly threatened by the tide of the revolutionary struggle, by the movement for independence. This does not, however, mirror its strength, but its weakness. The successes won by the reactionary forces undoubtedly have a temporary character; they can hamper and delay the process, having the character of law, of the progressive social development of the world, but in no case stop it. There is no force in the world capable of checking the fight of the peoples to shake off the imperialist sway, of preventing the movement for national and social emancipation from emerging victorious.

Without doubt, an ample and objective survey of events, of the victories and of the temporary defeats of the revolutionary forces in some countries, under the conditions in which the superiority of the anti-imperialist front over reaction and imperialism is evident, would be very useful and would help the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement to draw valuable lessons for the fight in the future. Such a survey must be done in our communist, revolutionary movement by each of its detachments.

It results from the foregoing that the contemporary world provides the image of a constant evolution of the progressive forces, of the continuous enhancement of their influence in the ranks

of the peoples, of the broadening of the movement for national and social liberation, for the promotion of friendship and peaceful cooperation among peoples. ***Life shows that where the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces act closely united, with determination and in a fighting spirit, they deal strong blows at reaction and win new and new victories.***.

In the following passages I shall dwell, but of course without pretending to exhaust the subject, upon the causes and factors that have determined some failures in the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movements.

In our opinion, one of the important causes that have facilitated for the forces of reaction and imperialism the obtaining of some temporary successes resides in the lack of unity of the socialist countries, of the communist and working-class movement, in the division of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces, that have prevented them from acting with the necessary determination and firmness. For the carrying out of its policy of world domination, imperialism resorts to the weapon of division of the internal progressive forces in various countries, to the old bogey of the so-called communist threat, to pitting some countries against one another, to the tactic of successively hitting at the detachments of the anti-imperialist front. The duty of the progressive forces everywhere is to expose this policy and annihilate its effects, to work for the strengthening of the unity of action, both internally and internationally, of all those interested in defending the democratic gains and the independence of the peoples, the peace and security of the world.

Another cause, in our opinion, lies in the fact that some confusions, illusions with regard to the change of the aggressive character of imperialism, and pacifist, legalist concepts have worked their way into the ranks of the revolutionary, anti-imperialist movement. The expressions of underestimation of the material and military strength of imperialism, of over-estimation of its own forces, have led to the relaxation of vigilance, to the appearance of a spirit of com-

placency; the revolutionary forces in some countries were taken unawares by the attacks of reaction, and were not prepared to adopt the forms and methods of fight required by the circumstances in order to be able to repel these attacks, to defend the democratic liberties.

Life proves the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist teaching that the reactionary forces do not renounce their positions and privileges of their own accord, do not cede without fight to the democratic and progressive movement, and do their utmost to stifle the fight for social and national liberation. The course of international life shows that as long as imperialism exists, also exists the danger of interference in the internal affairs of the peoples, the danger of aggression and war, the danger of a world war included. This demands from the anti-imperialist forces to keep their vigilance alert, to assess most objectively the dangers created by the aggressive activities of imperialism, to closely survey the course of events so as to be able to better foresee the evolution of the social struggle and act accordingly. ***The experience so far also sets off the necessity for perfecting the tactics and strategy, so that the revolutionary, anti-imperialist forces be permanently prepared to use any form and method of action capable of ensuring the victory of the fight for social and national liberation.***

It is an unquestionable truth, that has been permanently verified by life, that the fundamental factor which conditions the victory in the fight for national and social liberation is the close unity of all the progressive, revolutionary forces in each country, as well as the steady strengthening of the fighting solidarity of the anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. In face of the cohesion of this tremendous tide no reactionary force can resist. Closely united, ready to cope with any circumstance, being permanently in the offensive, the anti-imperialist front — the greatest social-political progressive force ever known in mankind's history — is invincible. It can frustrate every plot of reaction and can ensure peace and coooperation among peoples.

2 – SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

One of the burning questions of international relations is the presence, in great areas of the world, of a large number of countries that are lagging economically and socially as a consequence of the long colonial rule. The robbing of their national riches by the imperialist powers has prevented these peoples from developing their productive forces, their industry, agriculture, science, from securing high spiritual and material living standards, while in advanced capitalist countries the national wealth has continuously increased; this severe social and economic gap continues to widen even nowadays. Life has shown that imperialism, the capitalist system is unable to ensure the rapid social and economic progress of underdeveloped countries. At present the fundamental objective of scores of peoples that have recently won their national independence is their self-standing social, political and economic development. ***The surest way to achieve this basic desideratum lies above all in the intensification of their own efforts, in the mobilization of their entire human and material potential, in the concentration and unification of all the advanced, progressive forces of every nation.*** The consolidation of national independence, the access of these peoples to the gains of modern civilization cannot be imagined otherwise.

Owing to the insufficient economic development of these countries, the progress-promoting social forces and in the first place the working class are still weak both in terms of number and organization; in some places they have just started the process of formation. Moreover, in many areas of the world, colonial rule has left behind a number of unsettled problems which the imperialist circles try to use in order to divide and weaken the young

independent States, in order to sow discord among them and to prevent these young nations from uniting in their fight against imperialism and foreign domination. ***The liquidation of any form of imperialist domination and the independent development of these peoples require the strengthening of unity and solidarity between them and call for their many-sided mutual assistance.***

The communist parties, the advanced revolutionary forces play an important part in the struggle for the democratic, progressive development of the young independent States. That is why the refusal of some leading circles to cooperate with the communists or with other revolutionary forces weakens the fighting capacity of these peoples and prejudices the fulfilment of their aspirations for progress and a better life. ***The pooling of the efforts made by the progressive parties and forces is an essential prerequisite for the advance of these countries along the road of progress, of their independent development.*** An important part in the speeding up of their advance can be played by the technical, scientific and economic assistance granted by advanced countries, based on the observance of the principle of national sovereignty, of non-interference in internal affairs. ***In their efforts for progress, against imperialist domination, these countries find important support in the manifold cooperation with the countries of the world socialist system.***

The Romanian people develops relations of friendly cooperation with these countries, feels a deep sympathy with the cause of these peoples, manifests its full solidarity with the struggle they wage against imperialism and colonialism, for national independence, for progress and prosperity, stands close to them in their efforts to defend their democratic revolutionary gains. These feelings of support and solidarity of our people have been and will be permanently and consistently reflected in the entire foreign policy carried on by our socialist State.

The evolution of international life confirms the realism, viability and efficiency of the policy of peaceful coexistence between States having different social systems. ***However, peaceful coexistence***

does not mean putting up with the expansion-seeking and aggressive trends of imperialism, accepting its claims to dominate the world, but the instauration of relations based on equal rights for all the countries, and which should ensure the independent development of every people, of every nation. The basic premise of a normal cooperation between countries with different social systems is the strict observance of the inalienable right of each people to decide its own destiny, to choose its way of development by its own will and at the same time the categorical abandon of force as a means of solving pending problems between States and of the interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The normal development of the relations between sovereign and independent States, having equal rights, can be ensured only by the strict observance of these principles. Reality requires that all parties, all politically responsible men should act with concern for the promotion of the spirit of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

Romania will continue in future too consistently to militate for the development of international cooperation, being convinced that by this activity, she will make her contribution to the establishment of an atmosphere of confidence and rapprochement among peoples — a fundamental prerequisite for safeguarding peace and security all over the world.

3 — THE STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM

The most blameworthy act perpetrated by US imperialism — a telling expression of the profoundly reactionary character of the US policy — is the aggression in Vietnam. The powerful reaction of protest and desolidarization this act has aroused in the widest sections of world public opinion spotlights how heavy is the responsibility the USA has taken upon itself before history, before mankind's judgment.

The justice of the Vietnamese people's cause is obvious to every man of good will, it enjoys sympathy and support from all peoples. The high morale and the determination of the Vietnamese people in waging its heroic fight against the imperialist aggressors demonstrate that the thirst for liberty and independence of a people cannot be suppressed by means of arms, its will to assert unhampered its national identity cannot be stifled.

Our Party and Government, the entire people have manifested their full fraternal solidarity with the fight of the Vietnamese people from the first day of the US aggression.

Our country has supported and continues to support the Vietnamese people in the political, material and moral spheres and is resolved to give this support until complete victory against the American aggressors. We are glad that the Vietnamese comrades appreciate the aid granted by the Romanian people, by the other socialist countries, emphasizing its importance in the hard fight they are waging against the aggressors. We consider that it is necessary to intensify the political and diplomatic efforts, the actions in mobilizing the entire world public opinion to demand an end to the US aggression in Vietnam.

Lately public opinion has been witnessing the repeated attempt of American imperialism to deceive mankind by so-called peace proposals. These cannot be considered as an expression of the sincerity of the USA, of its desire to put an end to the war in Vietnam as long as American imperialism keeps intensifying the aggression in South Vietnam and the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

Mankind expects the USA to cease finally and unconditionally the bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam; to stop the acts of war in Vietnam, to withdraw its troops, to recognize the National Liberation Front, the authentic representative of South Vietnam, to let the Vietnamese people solve its domestic affairs by itself, without foreign interference. For the solution of the Vietnamese question it is absolutely necessary that the

provisions of the Geneva agreements be observed.

We are convinced that the fight of the peace- and freedom-loving forces throughout the world will determine the ending of the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese people.

4 – THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

The recent events in the Near East which have led to the armed conflict between Israel and the Arab countries have caused our people too, just as other peoples, much bitterness and anxiety. It is obvious that the reactionary imperialist circles wish to constantly maintain tension in the Middle East and in other parts of the world, in order to promote more easily their policy of colonialist domination. From the beginning the Party and Government of our country have considered that only reaction and imperialism can benefit by the armed struggle between the Arab countries and Israel, and have therefore appealed for avoidance of the use of force in solving the disputed problems. Our Party and Government, the Romanian people give support to the Arab peoples in their struggle for independence from imperialism, for social progress and national unity just as they support, moreover, the efforts of all countries that are still under the sway of colonial bondage, to liberate themselves and to take their fate into their own hands, to ensure for themselves a self-reliant development. Of course, the struggle for liberation from foreign rule must be waged from advanced positions, those of ensuring the democratic and national development of each people. Today, the existence of the State of Israel is a reality, and peace in that part of the world can only be obtained by finding solutions of peaceful coexistence between the Arabs and the State of Israel. Of course, a particular situation has now developed following the military fights. Israel has occu-

pied a number of territories. Some leading circles in that country raise territorial demands, which however, can only sharpen the contradictions and aggravate still more the situation in that area of the world. Nothing entitles the State of Israel to raise new territorial claims and we consider it necessary that it should withdraw from the occupied territories and proceed on the line of finding solutions to ensure the solving of the problem of the Arab population that took refuge from Israel and of other outstanding issues and to guarantee the development and peaceful coexistence of all peoples in that area. The problems are not simple ones. There will be still much turmoil, and tension will not be removed easily. It must be borne in mind that big interests of the imperialist powers are at stake there, that the huge oil wealth of the Middle East is now, just as in the past, a strong attraction and that the monopoly circles will henceforth too do everything in their power to maintain the state of tension, as only in this way will they be able to promote their aims of domination, of exploiting the wealths of those peoples. Our Party and Government will henceforth too strive for the finding of solutions by peaceful means, by negotiations in that region.

As to the Near East, Romania maintained and continues to maintain that in this part of the world either, the problems cannot be solved by means of arms, they can be solved by political means, by creating conditions for the independent development of all the states. That is why we have been from the onset against resorting to the use of force; we were and are against the use of force for the settlement of the situation in the Near East. We consider that the Israeli troops have to be withdrawn from the occupied Arab territories. Occupying territories and maintaining them under occupation cannot but lead to complicating and aggravating tension. The military actions must stop; any new attacks and the more so attacks against peaceful targets and the civilian population cannot but kindle still more the flame of war, to deepen still more the conflict. We also consider that account should be

taken of the existence of the Palestine population which plays an important rôle in the Near East. The extinction of the conflict in this area demands satisfaction of the national interests of the Palestines, inclusive of the possibility — if this population wants it — of forming its own independent state. Without taking into consideration all these problems peace cannot be ensured in that part of the world. We appreciate that the Security Council Resolution of November 1967 provides a goods basis for the settlement of the conflict and declare ourselves for its undelayed implementation in the interest of the peoples living in that area, of international peace and security.

We understand and resolutely support the aspirations of the Arab peoples towards full national liberation, social emancipation, towards democratic, progressive development. In expressing our viewpoint, we start from the thesis that the people that does not acknowledge the right of other peoples to independence and independent existence cannot itself be free. It is clear that, as a result of the maintenance of tension and conflicts, of the perpetuation of the state of beligerance in the Near East, it is only the imperialist circles that stand to gain, their aim being to divide the peoples, to raise dissensions and tension in order to maintain and consolidate their domination, it is the reactionary circles in that region that stand to gain.

5 — THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

The Romanian people is watching with great sympathy the efforts made by the young states of Africa and of other continents for the defence and consolidation of their independence; it backs their struggle for their independent economic and social development, for the large and efficient harnessing of national

resources for the benefit of their own peoples. We have welcomed with great satisfaction the deep-going changes of renewal that have taken place on the African continent and which in the course of the last twenty years have led to the emergence of dozens of new states in that part of the world — among them the young state of Zambia.

Romania is fully solidary with the struggle of the peoples against foreign oppression, against colonialism and neocolonialism, for the abolition of every form of the domination of one state by another, of the spoliation of the national wealth and of the fruit of the work of other peoples. Our country most strongly condemns the racial discrimination and the policy of apartheid carried out by the ruling circles of the Republic of South Africa and by Rhodesia, the brutal violation of the fundamental rights and liberties of man.

Appendix

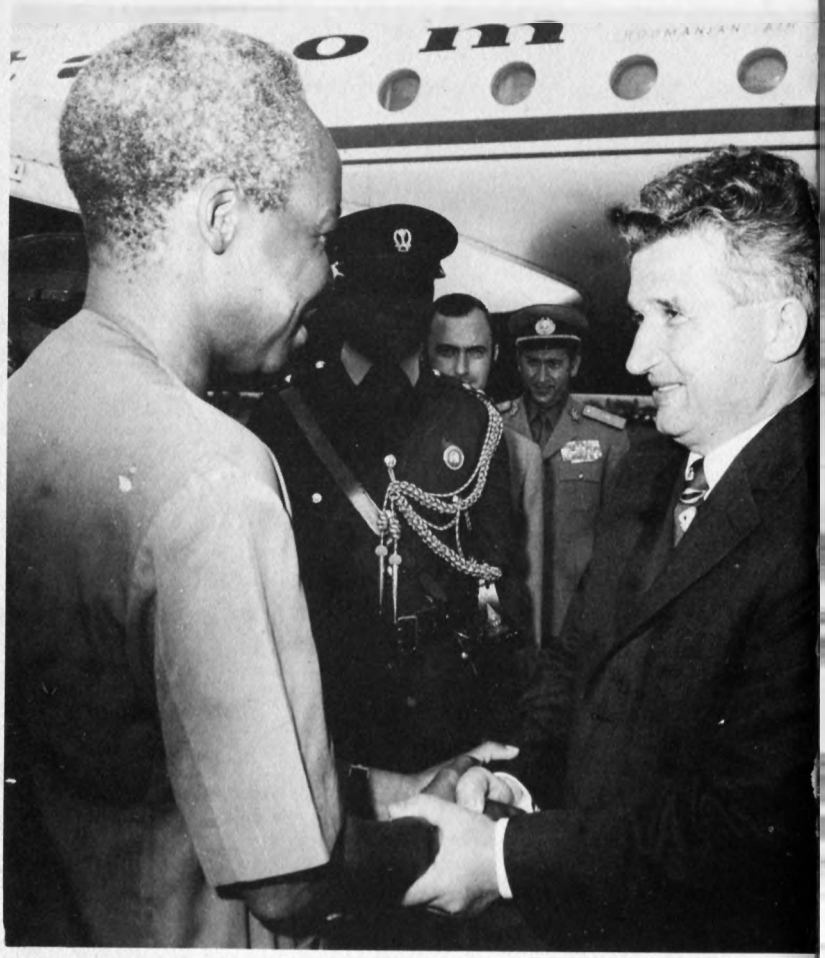
THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD

Source: Report of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, 1972

As I have stressed repeatedly, we have been and are paying special attention to the development of relations with the countries which have taken the road to the affirmation of independence. We appreciate that relations with these states are of great significance not only economically but also politically, as they are in keeping with the general policy of struggle for the economic and social progress of each country, with the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. At present Romania has good relations with all these states.

The visit I have made in the spring of this year in eight African countries, the talks we had with the leaders of those states, the agreements and understandings concluded on this ocassion in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural domains, in the fields of developing collaboration with the ruling parties and other civic organisations in those countries are of paramount importance for the evolution of our future relations. They tellingly reflect the policy of our Party of developing and strengthening multilateral cooperation with those states.

From the rostrum of the National Conference I would like to assure all these states that Romania, our Party will do everything to implement the understandings and agreements concluded for the promotion, in the future too, of friendship and solidarity among the peoples and parties of our countries. We can say that in the last few years the relations of collaboration between Romania and nearly all the African states have developed strongly, that there are good prospects for their further flourishing. Romania is also granting strong material, political and diplomatic support to the national liberation movements in the African countries — Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. We appreciate that all conditions are at hand for the struggle for national liberation in these countries to come out victorious in the next few years. Our country's relations have strongly developed with the countries in Latin America which are rising ever more firmly for taking their national riches into their own hands, for their independent economic and social development.



President Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania greets the Romanian President on his arrival in Tanzania.

Statements on More Recent Events

11

1 – ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS 1971-1975

As a result of the unswerving implementation of the policy of socialist industrialization — the basis for the development of the entire economy, for the country's general progress and for the guarantee of genuine national independence — industrial output has grown about 30 times during this period. Estimated in comparable prices, industrial output was worth about 18,000 million lei in 1938; 26,000 million lei in 1950; 53,000 million lei in 1955; 89,000 million lei in 1960; 170,000 million lei in 1965; over 300,000 million lei in 1970; and in 1975 — following the achievements scored during the first four years of the Five-Year Plan and of the plan provisions for next year — it will be worth nearly 580,000 million lei.

The 1971—1975 Five-Year Plan has a particularly important place in accelerating the growth of the Romanian economy. Over 2,400 production capacities are to be commissioned during this period; the volume of productive fixed assets will grow by 420,000 million lei, that is over 2.5 times more than the entire growth during the first three Five-Year Plans taken together. At the end of 1975 over 50 per cent of the productive fixed assets will be less than five years old, and only 19 per cent will be over ten years old. These data clearly show the decisive role of the present Five-Year Plan in developing and modernizing the technical and material basis of our society.

Important successes have been scored in carrying out the tasks set by the National Conference of 1972 and the pledges of the Party organizations, of the working people to fulfil the Five-Year

Plan — in terms of industrial output — ahead of schedule. Attainment of the level planned for 1975 will secure an average growth rate of 14 per cent for the whole Five-Year Plan, that is more than the original provisions.

In honour of the thirtieth anniversary of Romania's liberation and of the Eleventh Congress of the Party, by November 1st, over 80 enterprises had reached the targets provided for the entire Five-Year Plan, while about 900 had considerable overfulfilments — of up to one year. Similarly, the Municipality of Bucharest and 25 counties report to Congress that they have fulfilled the plan provisions for the first four years ahead of schedule, taking a lead of up to five months; this warrants that many counties will fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years and a half, thereby making a major contribution to its fulfilment ahead of schedule throughout the economy.

The Directives submitted to public debate and tabled to the Eleventh Congress describe in detail the successes obtained during these years; for this reason I shall present only some of the more important ones.

I wish to point out that in 1971—1975 the electric power to be installed will be over 5,000 MW, i.e. 3.3 times more than the power installed during the 1961—1965 Five-Year Plan.

The output of the machine-building industry has grown during the present Five-Year Plan period at an average annual rate of about 18.6 per cent, a higher rate of growth being recorded in the highly technical sub-branches: electrical engineering — about 20 per cent; electronics — nearly 27 per cent; fine mechanics and optics — 33 per cent; machine tools — over 33 per cent; technological equipment — about 25 per cent; and shipbuilding — over 19 per cent.

High rates have also been obtained in the other industrial branches: in the chemical industry — about 19 per cent; in the building materials industry — over 10 per cent; in the light industry — about 14 per cent; and in the food industry — about

9 per cent; similarly, a growth rate of nearly 10 per cent has been secured in the local and cooperative industry.

Concern with emphasizing the qualitative aspect of economic activity has increased in industry; more attention has been paid to raising the technical standard of the products, introducing modern manufacturing technologies, increasing labour productivity and cutting down production costs.

Considering all these achievements, the successful fulfilment of the plan targets, and the pledge to fulfil the Five-Year Plan ahead of schedule, I extend, from the rostrum of the Eleventh Congress, on behalf of the entire Congress, to the working class, the engineers and technicians, to all working people, irrespective of nationality, the warmest congratulations and best wishes of more and more successes in developing our socialist industry!

Significant successes have also been scored in agriculture, which has an annual growth rate of over 5 per cent; agricultural output is nearly twice as big as before the war. During the 1971—1975 period, annual cereal production will be over 15 million tons on an average, as against 8 million tons in 1934—1938; 10.8 million tons in 1961—1965; and 12.7 million tons in 1966—1970. Major increases have also been recorded in the production of vegetables, industrial plants and other crops. Animal husbandry and production has also increased considerably; meat production has grown about 40 per cent against the preceding Five-Year Plan period. A vast irrigation and land melioration programme is under way, helping to provide the best conditions for obtaining stable crops. Major successes have been scored in mechanizing farming operations, in supplying agriculture with fertilizers and other necessary chemicals.

All these achievements are further evidence of the correctness of the Party's policy for the socialist transformation of the villages, and strikingly demonstrate that socialist agriculture — both cooperative and stateowned — is providing the best conditions for the continuous, rapid advance of agricultural produc-

tion. From the Congress rostrum I wish to extend heartiest congratulations and best wishes of further success in their future activities to all working people employed in agriculture, cooperative farmers, all the peasants, technicians and specialists, for the achievements obtained in agriculture.

An approximately 12 per cent increase in the national income per annum has been ensured; this has made it possible to implement the programme for the country's socio-economic development, and the provisions concerning the raising to a higher level of the material living standards and the spiritual level of the entire people. The whole aspect of the towns and villages has radically changed following the application of the policy of rational territorial distribution of productive forces, of the fulfilment of the housing construction programme.

The results of the unremitting activities of the working people who, through physical and spiritual efforts, are building an ever more dignified and more prosperous life for themselves, are evident everywhere. The wonderful creations of the people, and the results of the practical assertion of the principles of socialism are visible at every step. This is why, on the occasion of this grand survey, we can say that our Party has proved to be the only Party in Romania's tormented history which has completely identified itself with the aspirations and interests of the broad masses of the people, giving top priority to the independence, welfare and happiness of the whole people. This is why the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary has occasioned a powerful demonstration of the entire nation's confidence in the Romanian Communist Party — the leading political force in society — as well as a vigorous expression of our people's will and determination unswervingly to carry into effect the Party's domestic and foreign policies, which fully correspond to the people's vital interests.

2 – POLICY ON THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

The elimination of underdevelopment is one of the fundamental problems of today on which international détente, peace and collaboration depend. Two thirds of the world being underdeveloped or developing, the world's division into rich countries and poor countries is an outcome of historical development, the consequence of the old, imperialist and colonialist relations of domineering and exploitation, of inequality and inequity. The perpetuation of underdevelopment has thoroughly negative effects on the whole of mankind's economic and social evolution, on all the people's progress and civilization, on general peace. That is why we can say that the existence of a group of rich, powerfully developed countries on the one hand, of needy, poorly developed countries on the other hand, is a fundamental issue of our days; the accumulation at one pole of huge riches and the aggravation at the other of poverty and misery cannot go on infinitely ! Just as on a national plane exploitation and oppression, the gathering of wealth in the hands of one class lead to sharpening social contradictions, to an intensified fight of the dominated and exploited and, objectively, to the abolition of these relations and the building of a juster system —, on an international plane, too, inequality and oppression are eventually leading to a sharpening of the contradictions between states and serious conflicts between them. In order to avoid clashes, which may become violent, the old inter-state relations should be replaced by a new policy, of fully equal rights for all the states of the world. This is a law of social development — both on a national and international plane — a

process brought about by the very dialectics of social and historical development.

As a socialist and developing country, Romania is firmly on the side of the countries fighting to remove this situation, to do away with underdevelopment, as also with the old relations that generated it, for the establishment of a new international economic and political order that should ensure conditions for a faster progress of all peoples, and first of all of the lagging ones, for the broad access of all nations to the gains of contemporary civilization. Setting out from these principles, Romania has deemed it necessary to extensively outline in the document recently submitted to the special session of the United Nations General Assembly her standpoint on the new international economic order, expressing our country's wish and firm determination to actively contribute to the settlement of this fundamental issue of the contemporary epoch.

As we also pointed out at the Eleventh Party Congress, we consider that the establishment of the new order should set out first of all from the complete elimination of the policy of inequality, of some peoples being dominated and oppressed by others, of the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy. The new order calls for the establishment in the world of new relations, based on the fully equal rights of all nations, on the observance of each people's right to be the full master of its national riches, to freely choose its economic and social development path, without any outside immixture.

A fundamental element of the new order is the fast bridging of the gaps between states, the relative evening up of all countries' levels of economic and social development, obviously taking account of the historical, geographic and climatic features of each state. No doubt, the filling of the gaps is first of all the task of the underdeveloped countries themselves. This presupposes the maximum harnessing of their own means and resources, the rallying of the people's efforts, energy and creative capa-

bility in order to develop the country's productive forces, to build a modern industray and a high -yield agriculture. Economic progress cannot be conceived nowadays in conditions neglecting one or another of these domains, one of the basic branches of material production; the harmonious and well-balanced, high-rate development of all economic compartments is an essential condition of doing away with underdevelopment Also of outstanding importance is the judicious turning to account, in view of a faster progress, of both the national raw material resources, and the manpower, with permanent attention being paid to cadre training in all domains, in step with the demands of the contemporary technico-scientific revolution. Of course, all this presupposes that each country should assign an important part of the national income to development. Setting out precisely from these considerations, Romania, a socialist, developing country, has earmarked and earmarks an important part of her national income for economic and social progress. The big results scored in the development and modernization of the tehnico-material groundwork of society, in raising the people's living standard, are the fruit of this consistent policy, of the constant efforts deployed by our whole people.

Parallel to the intensification of their own efforts, a role of utmost importance for speeding up the progress of the underdeveloped and developing countries is played by expanded international collaboration grounded on equity, mutual advantage and multilateral support. This collaboration should assist the underdeveloped countries in building their own industry, in turning to better account their natural resources and in actively participating, on an equal footing, in the international division of labour, in the world exchange of goods and assets. Taking account of the fact that most of the rich countries have secured their progress and development by exploiting the former colonies, the underdeveloped countries, it is both ethical and equitable that they should give back part of what they appropriated,

contributing more substantially, in various forms, to the efforts of the underdeveloped countries for building a new, modern economy for themselves.

An imperative of the new international economic order is the judicious solution of the raw material and energy issue, based on the observance of each people's right to freely administer its national resources and riches and also based on meeting the demands for raw materials of all countries, with a view to their economic and social development. In this domain it is also necessary to have a broad collaboration of the states for a superior harnessing of the existing resources, the elimination of waste and irrational consumption, the discovery of new resources for meeting the demands of the whole of mankind for progress.

We consider that to ensure a fair ratio between the prices of raw materials and the prices of industrial goods, a proper correlation between them and the farm produce prices is of paramount importance for the establishment of a new international economic order. It is natural that the countries producing raw materials should receive prices enabling them to record the fastest possible economic and social development; at the same time, industrial goods should be delivered at prices encouraging the further development of industrial activity.

As part of the efforts for the establishment of a new international economic order special attention should be paid to the urgent solving of the world food crisis, by developing farm output in all the countries of the world, especially in the developing ones, by means of including in the agricultural circuit all untilled areas, increasing per-hectare yields, raising the degree of technical and chemical endowment of agriculture, applying to production the latest results of agricultural science and technology.

The new order also presupposes the creation of conditions enabling all states to benefit, within international collaboration, by the gains of modern science and technology. This means that,

while backing the efforts of the less advanced states for the development of their own basis of research and development, their broad unhampered access to modern technologies, should be ensured under conditions of full equality and mutual advantage. It is an unquestionable truth that in the era of the most tremendous technico-scientific revolution, the progress of no country — and least of all the lagging ones — can be achieved without the adoption of the most advanced gains of human knowledge. In this respect, we deem it necessary that technical assistance and concrete support be given to the underdeveloped countries in the moulding and training of experts and workers.

The artificial barriers and discriminatory clauses which narrow the free exchange and equal cooperation among nations should be rapidly eliminated from the practice of international economic collaboration. An imperious demand is to ensure the stability of currency, to create such an international currency system favouring the normal and equitable unfolding of economic exchanges and collaboration.

The establishment of the new economic order equally concerns all countries and peoples, the developed, the poorly developed and the developing ones, since it is designed to ensure stability and an harmonious and balanced development of the whole world economy; that is why all states should participate in building it. Romania considers that an important role in this connection should be played by the United Nations, the international economic bodies and organizations. Concrete programmes should be worked out within their framework, concerning the translation into life of the various objectives of the new order. It is a positive fact that the United Nations devoted a special session last autumn to the problems of underdevelopment and of building the new economic order. We deem it necessary that efforts continue at the United Nations Organization for the elaboration of principles and the establishment of modalities of practical

action, either by designating one of the existing agencies of the Organization, or — taking account of the importance of this issue —, by setting up a special agency which, in a certain period of time, should put forward a programme of measures on this line.

Romania will most firmly campaign in the future, too, for these complex issues of the contemporary world, with profound implications for the whole evolution of mankind, for the cause of progress, international collaboration and peace, to find concrete solutions, with a view to building a new international economic order that should ensure the independent development of every nation on the path of progress, welfare and happiness.

3 – DÉTENTE, EUROPEAN SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Mr. Chairman,
Your Honours, High Representatives of the Participating States,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

The European Conference on Security and Cooperation, which gathers the most authorized representatives of 33 European states as also of the United States of America and Canada, is followed up with the keenest interest and justified hope by all the European peoples and, if one may say so, by almost all the peoples of the world. It is for the first time that the states of the European continent meet in such a conference so as to reach together agreement on their future, on collaboration, security and peace in Europe.

As is known, Europe had and continues having an outstanding role in the development of the productive forces, of science, tech-

nology and culture, of human civilization generally. At the same time in the 20th Century alone, two world wars had started on this Continent which caused tremendous human and material losses, putting a strong brake on the progress of the whole of mankind. Bearing all this in mind, the success of the Conference, the realization of a genuine security for all the peoples of the Continent, the securing of the free development of each nation sheltered from any aggression and interference in its internal affairs will be a conquest of historic importance able to usher in a new era, an era of lasting peace in Europe and in the whole world.

The unfolding of the All-European Conference with positive results was possible due to the big changes come about in the contemporary international life. The impetuous technical and scientific revolution, the deep-going national and social revolutionary transformations have given a powerful impulse to the struggle against the old policy of inequality, of strength and dictate, the imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist policy, to the assertion of the peoples' will to be full masters of their destinies, to build their future as they wish without any outside interference. All this has radicaly changed the balance of forces internationally, opened up wonderful prospects to the implementation of a new policy based on equality and mutual respect among nations, to the solving of the problems in concordance with the interests of the peace and welfare of all the peoples.

Consequently, a switch over was made from the cold war period, from the policy of tension and confrontation to a policy of collaboration which inaugurated the course of détente in international life.

Mention should be made, however, of the fact that we are only at the beginning of the period of collaboration and détente, that there still are many conflicts and zones of tension in the world, that powerful forces which endanger détente and aggravate anew

the international situation continue to be at work threatening the peoples' peace and security. Setting out from these considerations, Romania assesses that all states, all peoples should intensify their efforts for the consolidation and deepening of the course of détente, for the promotion of a new international policy where all nations may devote their material and human forces to independent economic and social development, to welfare and happiness.

Inspired by the resolve to secure to the Romanian people the possibility of peacefully building the new social system as also by the noble ideals of international friendship, collaboration and peace, the Socialist Republic of Romania took active part together with the other states in the efforts for the convening and preparation of the All-European Conference, in the wording of the documents, making its active contribution to the success of the Conference. We highly appreciate the proceedings of the first round in Helsinki and the second round in Geneva — which established the principle of consensus, democratic standards of equality for the All-European Conference and elaborated the documents which are to be unanimously endorsed by the present summit meeting. Romania's representatives take part in the present meeting convinced as they are that the signing of the documents on European security and cooperation fully correspond to the interests of their own people, of the other participating peoples, of the cause of security, cooperation and peace in Europe and in the whole world. The documents to be signed today assert the par ticipating states' will to found their relations on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, renunciation of any form of aggression or immixture in the internal affairs of others, abolition from the relations between them or with other states of threat or use of force. These principles, powerfully asserted in international life in recent years are the sole lasting groundwork for ensuring peace, collabora-

tion, and economic and social progress of each nation. At the same time, the signatory states take the solemn pledge to act, in the spirit of the United Nations Charter for the negotiated settlement of all disputed problems between them.

The fact that a number of measures leading to strengthened confidence, opening the path to fresh steps for the settlement of disarmament issues in Europe were adopted by common agreement is of special importance according to Romania. Though insufficient, the measure included in the document — on prior notification of manoeuvres and troop movements is meant to play an important role in strengthening European security.

We also appreciate the understandings reached on the development of economic, scientific and technological relations which should ensure the removal of all barriers and restrictions of any nature in the realization of mutually advantageous economic exchanges.

Intensification of cultural exchanges and a better information through the press and other media should serve the rapprochement and friendship among peoples, should not admit the propagation of racialism, war propaganda, anything that may lead to hate-mongering among peoples. On the contrary, this activity should lead to the consolidation of respect for the traditions and culture of each people, contribute at the same time to the dissemination of everything mankind has created best in all the fields of human activity and knowledge. Therefore correct information of the peoples is needed. It is necessary that we set out from the fact that an end be put to the various misinformation activities detrimental to collaboration and security. I would refer among others to the activity of some radio stations on the territories of some states participating in the current Conference which in no way serve the noble aims enshrined in the documents we are going to sign today.

As to humanitarian problems, no doubt that everything that

was convenanted is important, in connection with travels and marriages, as also problems related to the working and living conditions of the millions of people compelled to leave their families, their homeland in search for work. It is hard not to stress that these may be problems to which more attention should be paid in the future.

Much reference was made here to ideological principles. I am a communist and I cannot but take satisfaction in saying that it is precisely because of having embarked on the new socialist path of social liberation that Romania under the leadership of communists has actually won her independence and is building a new life, securing the welfare and happiness to the people. No doubt that there are different concepts in the organization of society, in questions of democracy and other philosophical problems. But shall we not set out in the discussion of these problems from the need to respect the right of each people to choose its development path as it wishes? I am for a free discussion of any ideological problem; I am for the free exchange of opinions, of delegations — and I believe that Romania's policy fully demonstrates this. But in connection with what some illustrious speakers said before, I would take the liberty of remarking that indeed there is democracy and democracy. How could one speak of equality, liberty and democracy between the rich countries and the countries which have not even got per capita one hundred dollars national income? To realize equality in actual fact means to realize also the necessary material conditions. How can one speak of absolutizing some so-called democratic standards generally? I would like to affirm that the democracy we are achieving in Romania is much more superior to that referred to by some speakers here. But I am ready to discuss this under any conditions, on the principle of equality and respect for opinions, of the right of each one to express these opinions. But, speaking of humanitarian questions, it would have been well for us to think that, besides the assertion of many rights and preoccupations for the working

conditions of the press — with which I fully agree — we should have concerned ourselves much more with the working conditions of the working class, peasantry, intelligentsia, the middle strata. Why should we concern ourselves only with a certain social category, considering that only that one comes within the domains of humanitarian questions? Do not the tens and hundreds of millions of people working hard in works, in mines, on the fields deserve our attention for them to lead a free and dignified life, a life of welfare? It might have been well that in the humanitarian questions we pay more attention to some aspects linked to the struggle against drugs, drug-addiction, criminality and other phenomena seriously affecting tens of millions of young people in many countries which are a great danger to the very civilization and progress of mankind.

We hope that all these will be solved adequately in the future, that greater attention will be paid to them in the next meetings, so that we indeed create all the premises — as many of the illustriuos speakers before me said — for the peoples to live better, freer, fully enjoy the blessing of civilization and progress.

At the same time, the documents to be signed envisage the organization in the future of further meetings, for the purpose of drawing a balance sheet of the way in which the commitments taken are being fulfilled and also, to seek out ways for solving the serious problems of European political life. Although these provisions do not fully correspond to the expectations of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to the need felt by the European peoples to coordinate their efforts for security also in the future, we hold that they nonetheless open up the prospect for a continued activity in this domain.

In my opinion, the goal of our activity should be the building of a united Europe, based on independent nations, on peaceful collaboration on equal footing among all states, regardless of social system or size. Setting out from this supreme desideratum, Romania considers it necessary that a permanent body be set up

to ensure the continued consultations on major problems of the relations of European states, intensified cooperation for the complete realization of security and peace on the Continent. Life also imposes the growing role of the United Nations and of the other international organizations, for the broad democratization of world political life, ensuring the setting for the active participation of all the states regardless of their size in the settlement of the complex problems facing mankind, creating the necessary conditions for the small and medium-sized countries to take an ever more active part in international life.

During the first and second rounds of the European Conference, and even during this meeting, détente between West and East has been spoken of many times, giving the impression that European security would mean the settlement of problems between different geographical zones or different blocs. In Europe — as is known — there are states with differing social systems, big and small states; but the implementation of security and cooperation must refer alike to the founding on new bases of the relations between them, regardless of whether they are in the west, east, north or south. I consider that the participation in different blocs or the differences of social systems must not hamper in any way the enforcement and realization of all the principles enshrined in the documents we shall endorse. It is necessary that we build such relations in Europe in which each nation, irrespective of social system or size, be able to take part with equal rights in the settlement of all problems, have its independence and sovereignty ensured, fully enjoy the blessings of economic and social development, of progress and civilization.

By the signing of these documents the first All-European Conference concludes successfully. At the same time, it should be said that this is only the first stage, important of course, in the struggle for security and peace. There must, however, be no illusion that we can sit back quietly and in security. On the contrary, we must be aware that a new and decisive stage follows in the life of the

European peoples, that of actually realizing peace, welfare and liberty.

European peoples, the whole of mankind expects that the principles and standards enshrined in the documents we shall sign be immediately and firmly applied, actually demonstrating in this way that all the participating states are inspired by the wish to ensure the triumph of the new policy in Europe. Setting out from the interests of all the peoples of our Continent and of the cause of peace, it is necessary that any transgression of the principles and standards endorsed in common be taken as lacking good will, as an action meant to endanger security, collaboration and peace in Europe.

As far as she in concerned, Romania is firmly resolved to do everything for the implementation of these principles. She will develop multilateral relations of friendship and collaboration with all the states participating in the Conference, with all the countries of the world, will do everything for the triumph of peace on our Planet.

We can never forget — even though 30 years have elapsed since the end of the Second World War — that many problems still remain to be solved in Europe. We shall have to work also in the future based on the principles and standards which governed the proceedings of the European Conference on Security, to seek out together the ways of abolishing for good and all the sources of tension, to solve the major questions in the interest of each nation. It is necessary that we constantly set out from the supreme principle that no people, irrespective of size or social system, can genuinely be free, can ensure its own welfare and happiness unless it respects the independence, the right to welfare and happiness of the other countries and peoples.

We must look reality in the face and openly tell the peoples that the strongest military forces and armaments — including nuclear weapons — ever known in history are concentrated in Europe, fact which is a serious danger to the life of the European peoples

and to the whole world. Therefore, the consolidation of détente, the realization of a real security and peace on the European continent, cannot be conceived without the taking of resolute disarmament measures, and of nuclear disarmament in the first place. Confidence building and the development of collaboration must lead to the abolition of opposing military blocs, to the concomitant abolishment of the North Atlantic Pact and of the Warsaw Treaty. Resolute action must also be taken for the dismantling of foreign military bases and the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other states to within the national boundaries. Sustained efforts are needed on the part of all states for starting to reduce the national armies, armaments, military expenditures. Particularly necessary are energetic measures for the withdrawal of nuclear armaments from the territory of European states that do not possess such armaments, for the transformation of Europe into a Continent of collaboration and peace.

Also necessary is that all states be secured access to the peaceful uses of atomic-nuclear energy. The danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons cannot be removed except by halting the production of this armament and starting to liquidate it. It must be clear to everyone that as long as atomic arming continues, other countries too will start producing nuclear weapons — and they will not be able to be stopped. There is a serious danger — and that is why we should openly tell the peoples that we must outlaw atomic armament. Thus we shall serve the peoples, the cause of humanity and peace !

The huge material and human means used for military purposes should be devoted to the economic and social development of the European peoples, to support the less developed countries in progressing more speedily, to building a juster and better world. Let us do everything so that the wonderful gains of science and technique, of human knowledge be put in the service of all peoples' progress, welfare, liberty and happiness and be no longer used

for arming and destruction.

Romania consistently speaks up for the achievement of zones of understanding and good neighbourhood in Europe and, in this context, for the transformation of the Balkans into a region of collaboration and peace — an integral part of strengthening security on the Continent.

We are vitally interested in the speedy settlement of the Cyprus issue, which should ensure the independence and integrity of Cyprus, peaceful, democratic collaboration between the Greek and Turkish communities.

The realization of European security should be closely linked to the settlement of issues on all the continents. Of special importance are the continuation of efforts for building a climate of détente, understanding and collaboration in the Mediterranean. Likewise, efforts should be made for the attainment of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. To that effect sustained efforts are required on the part of all states, of the European states in the first place. We cannot but see that all those in Europe are directly linked to the Middle East, that the security and peace in Europe are closely related to peace and the securing of independent development to all states in the Middle East.

Closely cooperating among them, the European peoples can and must act more firmly for the expansion of collaboration with the developing countries, for the abolition of the old policy of inequity which has resulted in the division of the world into rich and poor countries, for the establishment of a new international economic order securing the harmonious progress to every nation, the relative equalization of the development levels, international economic stability, welfare and peace to each people.

From this high rostrum, I am authorized to solemnly state that the Socialist Republic of Romania is firmly resolved to act with all forces to make its contribution to the implementation of security, cooperation and peace in Europe, to the creation of a new

international economic order, to the establishment of a lasting peace among all the peoples of the Planet.

By coincidence, the European Conference concludes in the year marking 30 years since the end of the second World War. May this coincidence make all governments, all peoples do everything for another war in Europe not to recur, for a world free of wars.

We all have responsibility to our own peoples, but also to the entire humanity. I have listened with great satisfaction to the statements made here. We must however say that history will judge not only the documents we are going to sign and the statements made, but also the way each separate state, each government and head of state or government will act for the carrying into effect of these documents, so that the hopes of our contemporaries be fulfilled, that the actions of our governments meet all nations' aspirations for welfare, liberty and peace.

On behalf of the Romanian people I wish to express from this high rostrum heartfelt thanks to the governments, parliaments, politicians, parties, political and public organizations, to the press and the other information media in the countries participating in the Conference which have campaigned and contributed to the successful conclusion of the Conference on European Security and Cooperation.

I would like to lay special emphasis on the important role played by public opinion, by all peoples in these countries who should be extended keenest thanks and assurances that we shall act in the future too with a sense of responsibility in the spirit of the Conference proceedings, for the translation into life of the rules and principles of the documents to be signed today. To this end, it is my opinion that the strengthening of collaboration and unity of all peace-loving forces is required, regardless of political, philosophical or religious beliefs, of all peoples which have the decisive role in the last analysis, as they are to carry into effect the security and peace in Europe and in the whole world. I

express my conviction that the peoples will know how to make peace and collaboration triumph on our Planet.

On signing the documents on security and cooperation in Europe, I consider it most opportune that we take the solemn pledge to ensure the firm continuation of the course of détente, the definitive exclusion of war from the life of Europe and of our Planet, from the life of all peoples. Let us spare nothing so that peace, friendship and collaboration among peoples triumph on the whole globe !

In conclusion, I would like to convey keen thanks to our hosts, to President Kekkonen, to the Finnish Government and people for the hospitality extended to us, for hosting this meeting, as also to the Swiss government and people which have played host to the second stage of the Conference, ensuring it good working conditions.

Likewise, I address best wishes to all participants in the Conference, requesting them to convey to their peoples the Romanian people's feelings of friendship and cordial wishes for welfare, happiness and peace !

Thank you for attention.

4 — DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH COUNTRIES WITH SIMILAR SOCIAL SYSTEMS

In its international activity, our country has consistently given top priority to the development of relations of collaboration with all the socialist countries, considering this to be in keeping with both the interests of the Romanian people and the interests of the other peoples that are building the new system, with the general cause of socialism and peace.

In this period, the treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the

People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Polish People's Republic have been renewed. These treaties have placed the alliance, friendship and collaboration between Romania and the respective socialist states on a solid and lasting foundation. We have also concluded our first treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with the German Democratic Republic, which has ushered in a new stage in the relations between the two countries.

I should like, on this occasion too, to point with great satisfaction to the development of our relations with the Soviet Union, which rank first in Romania's international relations of economic collaboration. We want to declare at Congress, too, the determination of the Romanian Communist Party, of Socialist Romania to take further and resolute steps in order to develop relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the Soviet Union, considering this to be in keeping with the interests of both Parties and peoples, with the general cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Our relations with the People's Republic of Bulgaria have witnessed a considerable development. The start of the joint construction of the Danube Hydro-power Station will be an important event in the relations between our Parties and peoples. We shall continue to do everything in order to expand this collaboration in the interest of both Parties and peoples.

Our country's relations with the Hungarian People's Republic have developed at a brisk rate and we are determined to go on taking firm steps to expand the collaboration between our Parties and peoples.

The relations of collaboration between Romania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic have also developed on a large scale. We believe that there are great possibilities to further intensify these relations and we shall do everything to turn them to account.

Significant results have also been obtained in expanding the relations of collaboration between Romania and Poland; we consider that there are possibilities for a further powerful development of these relations in the years to come.

At the same time, our relations of economic collaboration with the German Democratic Republic, as well as the relations between the Parties of the two countries have powerfully developed. We shall do everything for these relations to develop further in the same spirit!

In this period, the relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Yugoslavia, between the Romanian Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have made great progress. The commissioning of the Iron Gates Hydroelectric Power Station was an important moment in the relations between our countries, setting an example of collaboration on the basis of full equality between two neighbouring, friendly socialist countries. We are resolved to do everything in the future as well in order to develop the relations of manysided collaboration between our Parties and countries!

I am pleased to mention that in this period there has also been an important progress in the relations of collaboration between Romania and Albania. We consider that there is every condition for these relations to develop even more powerfully in the period to come — and we shall do everything in this respect.

An important moment in the development of our relations with the socialist countries of Asia was marked by the visit to these countries of the Party and government delegation in the summer of 1971; this visit has opened new avenues for greater collaboration with all the countries in that part of the world.

I am very happy to mention the ascending course of relations of collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Chinese Communist Party, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of China, the growth, year

after year, of economic exchanges, of multilateral Romanian-Chinese collaboration. We consider that there are genuine possibilities for the expansion of relations of collaboration in the forthcoming years. We shall do our utmost for the development of these relations which correspond to the interests of our Parties and peoples, to the cause of social progress and peace in the world!

These years have witnessed a great development of our collaboration with the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, as well as the relations between the Romanian Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Korea. There are ever greater possibilities for the expansion of this collaboration and we shall consistently take action in this direction.

Our relations of friendship and collaboration have also developed with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. The Romanian people has given multilateral assistance to the Vietnamese people in its struggle against foreign domination, for independence. We are firmly determined to greatly develop relations between our Parties and peoples in the future too!

The relations between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Mongolia have also developed. As far as we are concerned, we shall do our utmost, in the future too, for these relations to record ever greater progress!

As a consequence of the exchange of top-level visits, the relations between Romania and Cuba have also developed widely. We wish to go on working for the expansion of relations between our Parties and peoples, in the interest of the socialist development of each country and of the cause of progress and peace!

Having in view the contemporary international situation, we consider that relations of collaboration among the socialist countries, which are members of the Warsaw Treaty, and among the armies of the respective states, must be developed, starting from

the necessity of developing and fortifying each national army, and the defensive and fighting capacity of each people. At the same time, the struggle for the dismantling of military blocs has to be intensified, and the political side of the Warsaw Treaty should be even more strengthened, with a view to strengthening the course of detente and collaboration in Europe and the whole world.

At the same time, Romania has furthered and will continue to further the expansion of our army's collaboration with the armies of all the socialist countries, with the armies of other friendly states, considering that this is an internationalist duty stemming from the maintenance of the state of tension, and the danger of new aggression and wars.

The development in this period of our relations of collaboration with the socialist states is part of the general policy of strengthening the solidarity and unity of the socialist countries. We start from the fact that the greater the results obtained by each socialist country on its road of economic-social development, the wider their international collaboration, the greater becomes the force of socialism and its prestige in the world.

5 – THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: ATTITUDE TO EGYPT (interview in Al Ahram)

QUESTION: *President Sadat has visited Romania a few days ago. How do you assess this visit in the prospective development of the Romanian-Egyptian relations?*

ANSWER: The visit of President Anwar Sadat to our country marked a fresh an important moment in the expansion of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Arab Republic of Egypt. The results of the visit are put down in the documents concluded on the occasion, which voice the common wish for faster progress on the path

of economic and social development, of consolidating independence and sovereignty, of cooperating more actively in the interest of the two countries, in the spirit of cooperation, peace and friendship among all peoples. I would particularly like to stress the atmosphere of warm cordiality in which the visit proceeded, when the feelings of fraternal friendship, the good relations existing between our Parties, states and peoples, the common aspirations for a prosperous future, for a dignified and happy life found an eloquent expression.

In furthering the dialogue started in Cairo in 1972, the recent talks opened up broad prospects for the expansion and deepening of friendly Romanian-Egyptian relations and relations of cooperation on a political, economic, scientific and cultural plane and in the sphere of human contacts. Covenanted were measures of special importance for the intensification and diversification of commercial exchanges and mutually advantageous cooperation in production, in the sphere of technology and scientific research, in education and training of speciality cadres, for the intensification of cultural, artistic, touristic and sports contacts and exchanges. At the same time, the joint documents adopted established a propitious framework for the continuous development of bilateral cooperation also with the other states, in the examination and solving of international questions, in the promotion of peace, detente and cooperation throughout the world.

QUESTION: *You got to know more closely President Sadat in these few days. Could you tell us something special about the personality of the Head of the Egyptian State?*

ANSWER: I am not in a habit to speak about other presidents. The relations between President Sadat and myself are friendly, fraternal. I consider that President Sadat sets out in a thorough way from the interests of the Egyptian people, is concerned to the highest degree with ensuring the necessary conditions for his country's speedy economic and social development, for building

a happy future for his people. I consider that by the way he worked on various occasions, President Sadat has given proof of profound understanding of the problems and, at the same time, firmness and resoluteness to ensure their corresponding settlement.

QUESTION: *The Palestinians have expressed their profound thanks to President Nicolae Ceauşescu because not only did he recognize the Palestinian people and its rights but also spoke of the fact that the Palestine Liberation Organization is the lawful representative of that people. He is the first President of a non-Arab state to have recognized this, and we could assess at the same time that President Nicolae Ceauşescu has made by this a much greater step ahead than many Arab states. What is your stand, Your Excellency, and of your country of the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Geneva Peace Conference and on its recognition as the only one to represent the Palestinians?*

ANSWER: Romania has spoken up a long time back for the settlement of the Palestine people's issue in conformity with its aspirations, including its right to organise itself in an own, independent state. We recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization which, as a matter of fact, has a permanent representtive in Bucharest. We consider that the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole lawful representative of the Palestine people is a support given to the struggle of the Palestine people and corresponds to reality setting out from the point of view that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be realized without an equitable solution of the Palestinian question, we consider necessary the full and independent participation of the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the proceedings of the Geneva Conference. Therefore, we hold that every effort must be made for the creation of the necessary conditions that they can take part in the Conference.

QUESTION: *How do you analyse the results of the October 6 war and what are the prospects for peace in that region?*

ANSWER: The war produced radical changes in the Middle East situation. On the one hand, it demonstrated the capacity of the Arab countries to wage successful military actions, and on the other hand, it smashed the myth of Israel's invincibility. At the same time, the war created great dangers for the extension of the conflagration, with unforeseeable consequences not only for the peoples in the region but even for world peace. The hostilities have proved once again that only a political solution is possible in the Middle East which should lead to the withdrawal of Israel from the territories occupied following the 1967 war, that the security of the states in the region cannot be ensured by territorial occupation but by relations of good neighbourhood, by cooperation and friendship.

QUESTION: *Israel has obtained for itself an atomic reactor, and certain secret reports assure that possibilities exist for the production of the atom bomb and other atomic weapons in that country. Egypt is to obtain such reactors for peaceful purposes. What is your opinion in this respect?*

ANSWER: We have always spoken up and under any circumstance for the exclusively peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Nuclear energy must serve the peoples everywhere, hence also those of the Middle East, for using the great gains of contemporary science and technique, for the turning to account of their natural and human resources, for the liquidation of the effects of underdevelopment, for attaining a higher civilization level, for the consolidation of peace and cooperation in the world.

QUESTION: *Israel still occupies Arab territories and ignores the rights of the Palestinians. What is your position vis-à-vis this situation?*

ANSWER: As I have mentioned, we consider it necessary that Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territories. It must be clear that the maintenance under occupation of foreign territories

cannot but be a source of permanent conflicts. Therefore, speaking of lasting peace in the Middle East we have in view the withdrawal of Israel from the occupied territories, the equitable solving of the Palestine issue, by ensuring the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, as also the guaranteeing of integrity and sovereignty of each state in the region. Only in this way can a just and lasting peace in the Middle East be ensured.

QUESTION: *Do you consider that the world will witness and enjoy more detente or is it possible that new tensions appear? Is there a specific angle from which the states of the "third world" could regard the present detente?*

ANSWER: The new course toward detente is the result of the change in the balance of forces internationally. It meets the requirements of the peoples' development on an independent path and the founding of inter-state relations on the principles of equality and mutual respect. For this reason, detente fully corresponds to the aspirations of the peoples of the "third world", of the peoples of the developing countries, creates genuine possibilities for these peoples to play a more active role in international life and contribute to the settlement of the major issues of the world in concordance with their interests, with the interests of the general cause of progress of each nation, of peace and cooperation among all peoples.

QUESTION: *From the very beginning you spoke up for disengagement of troops on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts. There are opinions according to which this disengagement would complicate the proceeding of the Geneva Peace Conference. We would like to know your opinion on this matter and what you consider necessary for the ensuing period.*

ANSWER: The realization of military disengagement both in Sinai and on the Golan Heights is an important step on the path of a political solution of the litigious questions in the Middle East.

We have hailed the agreements concluded in this respect and consider that these have created new and favourable conditions for seeking out full solution and for the entrenchment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East.

Of course, it was not easy to reach these agreements. Precisely therefore we highly appreciate the results of so far, the efforts made for their attainment and consolidation. In this context, we particularly value, as I have repeatedly stressed, the sustained efforts made personally by President Sadat for the transitions to the peaceful and just settlement of the conflict.

We consider that by the conclusion of the military disengagement agreements an important step forward has been made, which can play a deci siverole in the entrenchment of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. But this is only one step. Further efforts are necessary for a complete solution to be reached. In our opinion, fruitful negotiations can proceed within the framework of the Geneva Conference — which is to be held under the auspices of the United Nations Organizations — negotiations which should lead to the realization of the desideratum of a just and lasting peace. Therefore, we consider that this Conference has its importance and that it should meet as soon as possible. Within it, the principal role has to be played by the countries directly concerned. An active role in the Conference proceedings can and must be played by the United Nations Organization. Without doubt, the big countries — in the first place the Soviet Union and the United States — will be able to play an important role in the respective conference, but in our opinion, as I mentioned more than once, an important role can also be played by other states, especially of Europe and Africa, preoccupied with the realization of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East. Naturally, this depends also on the countries directly concerned and on the concrete possibilities to be created so that also other states should participate in the Peace Conference.

As far as she is concerned, Romania will do, in the future too,

everything that depends on her to make her contribution to the realization of a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, considering that this corresponds to the general interests of the whole of mankind.

6 – THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT: ATTITUDE TO ISRAEL (interview in Davar)

QUESTION: *What is, Mr. President, your assessment of the stage of the relations between Romania and Israel and the possibility of their future development? And in what domains?*

ANSWER: The relations between Romania and Israel, too, are part of the general context of Romania's cooperation with all states, regardless of social system. We consider that their present stage is good and that possibilities are at hand for their expansion in the ensuing years, especially in the conditions of achieving a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, which will allow for the concentration of efforts on the line of economic and social development and, on this groundwork, the relations with other states could also be expanded.

QUESTION: *The Socialist Republic of Romania maintains good relations with and enjoys the trust of both sides involved in the Middle East conflict. Do you consider it possible and necessary, Mr. President, to use this reality for promoting a peaceful settlement of the conflict? Do you have any suggestion as to the next steps in this direction after the recent visit to your country of President Anwar Sadat?*

ANSWER: Romania has always declared for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, for a political solution, since she considers that war cannot lead to a settlement of the conflict but, on the contrary, aggravates the situation still more and has very

serious consequences not only on the Middle East but also on the entire world. We have always considered that the maintenance under occupation of the Arab territories won after the 1967 war cannot lead to a political solution, and that one should set out from the necessity of Israel's withdrawal from those territories, from the achievement of a just and fair peace ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of all states, inclusive of Israel. We have also considered that the attainment of a lasting and just peace in the region also presupposes a settlement of the Palestinian people's question in conformity with its aspirations for living freely. We welcomed the disengagement in the Sinai and Golan and consider it as a first important step. But the attainment of a definitive solution in the Middle East necessitates sustained efforts, resumption of the Geneva negotiations, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the participation of all states concerned and of other states which can contribute to the achievement of a lasting and just peace in the region.

QUESTION: *Great heed is paid of late in Israel to the Palestinian problem. I would like to know, Your Excellency, whether Romania's support for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to freely decide on its fate, inclusive of the right to found its own state, if it wishes to, in a way runs counter to Romania's stand as regards the right to sovereign and independent existence of the State of Israel?*

I would like to ask you another question in the same context. It is about the Alexandria Declaration of the President of Egypt and the King of Jordan, who declare for a division of Palestine. I have a feeling that in this question Mr. President Ceauşescu goes farther than President Sadat. I am asking you if this opinion of mine is correct.

ANSWER: I would not like to comment now on the Alexandria Declaration because I feel that it is not well understood. I conducted talks with President Sadat; we have a Joint Declaration where our views on the Palestinian question are also set forth.

As far as Romania is concerned, we called attention already in 1967 on the fact that the situation of the Palestinian people was the main problem that had to be solved in keeping with that people's national aspirations. We have official documents in this respect. It is true that we then went farther than others. We set out from our concept — which I have stated before — that a people cannot be free if it does not recognize the right to freedom and independence of other peoples, too. Today one can affirm that the attainment of a just and fair peace in the Middle East is not possible without reaching also a solution to the Palestinian problem by recognizing the Palestinian people's right to independent organization of its life, organization of its own state included. This does not run counter in any way to Romania's position of recognizing the existence of Israel as an independent and sovereign state. On the contrary, I could say that the existence of both the State of Israel and of a Palestinian independent state would only clarify the situation and build the relations in the Middle East on a solid groundwork. This would open up a real prospect of peaceful cooperation between Israel and the Arab countries, inclusively with the future Palestinian state.

QUESTION: *What is, Mr. President, Romania's position vis-à-vis the terrorist actions in international life?*

ANSWER: The Romanian Communist Party has always been against the use of terrorist actions as methods for solving political questions. At the same time, socialist Romania speaks up against terrorist actions considering that they are not compatible with the activity for solving problems among states, with the methods of revolutionary and national fight included. We are partisans of mass revolutionary activity, of rallied efforts of all peoples in the fight for liberation and for attainment of their aspirations for social and national justice.

7 – APPEAL ON BEHALF OF CHILEAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has addressed a message to Leopoldo Benites, Chairman of the 28th session of the UN General Assembly, and to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, expressing profound worry at the danger threatening the lives of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, and of other leaders and campaigners of the "Popular Unity" of Chile, the political front of late President Allende's government.

The State Council President of the Socialist Republic of Romania appeals to the President of the General Assembly, to the UN Secretary-General, for intervening as soon as possible with the authorities in Chile, with the governments of member-countries, through the UN bodies, and by other channels they judge adequate, to the end of saving the lives of Luis Corvalan and the other campaigners for progress and democracy in Chile, for peace and cooperation among peoples, in the spirit of respect for the fundamental human rights, for the principles enshrined in the UN Charter.

The message was delivered to the Chairman of the General Assembly Session, and to the UN Secretary-General, by the permenent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the United Nations.

On receiving the message, the President of the General Assembly, Leopoldo Benites, addressed thanks to President Nicolae Ceaușescu: he sent a telegram to the military junta of Chile, asking for clemency.

Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, in his turn, assured the State Council President of the Socialist Republic of Romania that he has made representations to the Chilean Government and

pointed out that he would further follow up this problem.

In the afternoon, the Romanian delegation to the United Nations General Assembly session read the message of Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to General Assembly President Leopoldo Benites and to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, out to the General Assembly plenum; the Romanian delegation also requested that the message should be circulated as official document of the United Nations Organization.

Message Addressed to Chilean Authorities

Nicolae Ceaușescu, President of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, also addressed a message to the Chilean authorities through the agency of the Embassy of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Santiago de Chile and of the chargé d'affaires of the Republic of Chile in Bucharest, expressing his profound worry at the danger threatening the life of Luis Corvalan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, a patriot and democrat, a prominent campaigner of the Chilean political life, a fighter for the cause of peace, cooperation and friendship among peoples.

In the spirit of respect for the fundamental human rights. State Council President Nicolae Ceaușescu has called upon the authorities in Chile to stop the proceedings instituted against Luis Corvalan and avoid any other endangering of his life. President Nicolae Ceaușescu has asked that the possibility be secured to Luis Corvalan of emigrating, the Romanian Government being willing to grant him political asylum in Romania.

In the same spirit of humanism and respect for the fundamental human rights, President Nicolae Ceaușescu has appealed to the authorities in Chile for the saving of the other democratic perso-

nalities, representatives of the progressive forces whose lives are in danger.

8 POLICY ON NATIONAL MINORITIES

As part of the general preoccupations with improving the entire Party and State governing activity, with enhancing the role of the masses in the elaboration and implementation of the Party and State policy, the Councils of working people of Magyar and German nationality play an important role as democratic forums offering an adequate frame to debate problems specific to the respective nationalities, as well as general problems pertaining to the development of society, the growing welfare and happiness of our entire people.

It is a well-known fact that the Romanian Communist Party has always fought against any kind of national discrimination, racialism, anti-Semitism, nationalism and chauvinism, for fully equal rights of the working people, of all the citizens of our homeland.

With the establishment of the worker-peasant power in Romania, as a leading political force in society, our Party started the revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist solving of the national question, started ensuring fully equal rights to all working people, to all citizens irrespective of nationality.

In socialism we have new principles of equality, of ethics and equity, based on work, friendship, solidarity and mutual assistance.

We are building a new, revolutionary humanism, which sets in the forefront man, everyone's multilateral affirmation of personality without, however, encouraging individualism, but enhancing everyone's responsibility to the collectivity, to society.

It is in this framework that should be understood also the national question, the questions linked to ensuring fully equal rights to the working people of Magyar, German and other nationality

We provide real conditions for truly equal rights and promotion of education, science and cultural activities in all the regions of this country.

Tuition for the coinhabiting nationalities in Romania has developed in this general context — in the Magyar and German languages, as well as in others, although the nationalities speaking them are less populous.

There is no doubt that by firmly implementing our nationality policy which provides equal rights to them, we have paid due attention to offering material conditions for the young people to learn in their mother-tongue, in the language they wish to.

Care should be taken that the youth enroll in educational forms and be assigned to jobs in areas or places where they know the language.

The same can be said of cultural and artistic activity.

Well known is also the activity of artistic institutions, the radio and television where there are excellent results but where we certainly could do more. Demonstrating the care for the spiritual life of the coinhabiting nationalities of our Party and State are the six Magyar-language theatres in Romania, to say nothing of the activity of the houses of culture in localities where there are no theatres, the two German-language theatres and a good one with performances in Yiddish — one of the few in the world. Our concern now is to bring all these artistic and cultural institutions up to the requirements of the Party, of our society.

There are good results also in the press, in literary-artistic production and a good deal has been said about this. Much is being published in Romanian, in Magyar, in German, and in other languages. If we were to make a comparison I could not say, for instance, that less is printed in Magyar; as far as the press is concerned, if the circulation of the dailies and periodicals is compared with the number of inhabitants, there are more publications in Magyar than in Romanian.

You know well that our Party took a firm attitude to past mistakes, distortions or illegalities. As far as the population of German origin is concerned, there was a time immediately after the war when rather serious mistakes were made, but it is long

ago since we have eliminated them completely, redressed the wrongs and removed their consequences. Generally that is what we do in connection with the violations of law in our country at a given moment.

I have mentioned more than once, that the population of Magyar, German, Serbian or other nationalities in Romania, as also the population of Romanian nationality in the neighbouring countries are an outcome of historical development, of coexistence of peoples in this part of the world as neighbours.

Speaking of Romania, I would like to mention once again that history is full of lessons concerning the common fight of the working people of Romanian, Magyar, German and other nationalities against oppression and inequality. Likewise, everything that has been achieved, both in the past and particularly in the years of socialist construction, is the fruit of the united work of all the citizens of our homeland. All the grand achievements we have obtained in building the multilaterally developed socialist society are due primarily to the efforts of the working people regardless of nationality – Romanian, Magyar, German, Serbian – of our entire people which, in full unity, unabatedly fulfils the home and foreign policy of our Party and State.

The place of the citizens of our homeland is not elsewhere – even if at a given moment an easier life could be found – but here, where they were born, where their parents and their ancestors lived and where, by joint work and struggle a new system is being built, which by everything it is achieving proves to be superior to any system that is based on exploitation and oppression.

There is no doubt that in our country as well the process of bringing the Romanians, Magyars, Germans, all citizens, irrespective of nationality, closer to one another and consolidating their brotherhood is a systematic, dialectical process which cannot be stopped by anybody, and which we should not attempt to halt; on the contrary, acting as revolutionaries, we have to promote it, to guide it consciously. Herein lies our Party's role as the leading political force of society. We understand by this to put in the forefront not minor things, certain deficiencies, but

everything that is a common asset, everything that helps to consolidate friendship and brotherhood.

9 – SPEECH ON THE STATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES

Mr President, Mrs Carter, ladies and gentlemen: It is for myself for my wife and for the members of my party a reason of special pleasure to be your guests here tonight, to be again here in the United States to meet again many citizens of your lovely country.

Today we had the first round of talks on a rather large sphere of problems, and we have also reached a number of common conclusions. The first regards the need to establish broader cooperation between our two countries and to take more sustained efforts towards peace, towards more democratic international relations, and towards insuring to each and every nation the right to live in freedom and to develop according to their own aspirations.

You said, Mr President, that many people here in the United States have come from Europe or other parts of the world. I cannot boast that many Romanians have come from other parts of the world, because for almost 2,050 years – because in 1980 we are going to celebrate the 2050th Anniversary of the first centralized Nation State of Romania – Romanians have been there, and they are going to stay there. They fought to be free, and they want to be always free.

In many ways the history of our two respective countries are different, and the present is also different from a number of viewpoints. The United States is a developed country and a big country. Romania is a smaller country and a still developing country. But it is our wish by relying on the labours and efforts of our own people to develop on broader lines to gain access to modern science, to civilization and to live a life of dignity, freedom and independence.

I think that despite all differences, including differences in social systems, there are many things that can be common to our two countries and to our two peoples, and mainly our common

wish for progress, our wish to see that the accomplishments of human genius are put in the service of happiness of all peoples. No doubt, also, we have a common determination to do everything we can in order to see to it the wonderful achievements of science should not serve destruction and war, but the progress, well-being and happiness of each people and of all peoples.

I think that that is precisely the supreme rationale of human existence, and that is also the fundamental problem, the core of human rights — the right to be free, the right and the duty to respect the freedom of others, and the duty to work in such a way in order to enjoy himself or herself and let others enjoy the benefits of civilization. Maybe on certain aspects of human rights we might have different philosophical concepts, and there is nothing wrong in that. But we in Romania set out from the premise that everything we do should serve the well-being of the people, should help all people live life with more dignity and more freedom. And we have a saying in Romania that the little we have, we should distribute fairly for all to enjoy.

You told me tonight, Mr President, about your Presidential campaign in the early stages and how you really got elected President. It is wonderful that you could win over all obstacles, and now to have a farmer at the head of the United States, and also a farmer's son, and that I used to work in the field, I used to work in factories, and we have there in Romania a farmer's son who has worked all his life with his hands and he is now a President, too.

Maybe that helps our people also understand that whatever we do is for the people to benefit and for them to live life with more dignity.

As a matter of fact, if I remember right, either the first or the second President of the United States used to be a worker and the founding father of scientific socialism, Marx, used to say and to quote that as an example of how a working man can rise to the highest dignity of office.

Now when we talk about human rights, it is good to remember all these things, because the rights of all human beings begin with the right to work, with the right to learn, with the right to have

access to culture, with the right to live in freedom and also with the right to participate in the management of all national affairs without discrimination.

And this also includes the right to have any creed, either religious or philosophical.

We endeavour to respect such rights fully, and we regard them as sacred. We think that everything should be done and no effort should be spared in order to have those rights asserted in all countries, so that they become a basis for equal co-operation among all nations. That is why we take a stand against all wars and for disarmament, first of all for nuclear disarmament. That is why we believe that the world should cease to be divided into opposing military blocs and new relations should be built in a world without military blocs. That is why we stand for a political solution in the Middle East. That is why we welcomed President Sadat's initiative and now we are hopeful that his efforts will, and the others will, lead to a just and lasting peace in the area.

That is also the reason why we wish to see new relations in Europe and the document signed in Helsinki implemented in full.

As there are more baskets than one, we would wish that all should be implemented and more progress should be made in particular on the military side of it, considering that in Europe, where many Americans of today have come from, we have to deal with the highest concentration of forces and modern armaments.

You know Europe. You know Europe is not such a big place, and little place is now left for anything but arms. So we shall have to remove them to make place for people. That is why, while giving attention to the Third Basket, we should also give more attention to military disengagement and disarmament.

These are the same reasons why we support the liberation movements in Rhodesia and Namibia and the majority in South Africa, their right to be free, to decide their own future, and to participate in the management of their own affairs.

Finally, I shouldn't fail to mention the fact that two-thirds of mankind is poor, and one-third is relatively rich, because not all are rich in that one-third. That makes it necessary, in our

view, to join the efforts with these people, with the developing nations, in order to secure their more rapid economic and social progress. Without this we can hardly say that all nations can enjoy the fruits of modern civilization.

We would certainly welcome with great satisfaction more active support from the United States to the solution of these worldwide problems, if more is done for these two-thirds of mankind that live in poverty.

Of course, I have in mind not only the United States but all developed countries, all those who are able to take action in order to bring new solutions to the vital problems of mankind.

We know well that just a few countries, even if they are as big as the United States, cannot solve all these problems. What is needed is for all peoples, all nations, to join their efforts in order to bring about solutions that would be up to the expectations and aspirations of all people.

I am convinced that despite the difficulties, that all the nations of the world will be able to bring about new solutions to the problems we are facing and to build together a better world with more justice.

We wish that our visit here and our talks together should help us identify new fields for co-operation between Romania and the United States, but at the same time should provide new opportunities for co-operation with a view to solving the problems that confront humanity today.

I should like to propose this toast for better co-operation between Romania and the United States, for a more democratic international policy. I wish the people of America prosperity and peace for all.

To your health, President Carter, Mrs Carter. We are looking forward to seeing you in Romania. To your health, everybody. (Applause)

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